HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND:

From 1436 to 1565.

In which are contained

Accounts of many remarkable Passages altogether differing from our other Histo ians; and many Facts are related, either concealed by some, or omitted by others.

By ROBERT LINDSAY of Pitfcotties

To which is added

A CONTINUATION, by another Hand, till August 1604.

The SECOND EDITION.

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AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT

OF THIS

HISTORY.

TERE beginneth the history and chronicles of Scotland, which was left unwritten by the last translators, to wit, Mr. HECTOR BOES and Mr. JOHN BALLANTYNE. who ended their chronicle at the slaughter of king JAMES I. which was, from our redemption, one thousand four hundred and thirty fix years, the twenty first day of February: therefore we follow henceforth, in order, beginning at king JAMES II. so briefly succeeding all the kings, queens, governors, and regents, that have been fince the day foresaid, unto this day and date hereafter following. And furthermore, have fought, gathered, and collected, all the notable acts done by these foresaid princes in their time: and all troubles and enormities

of

ii THE AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT, etc.

of conspirations fallen, in like manner, in their days, are comprehended in this volume; and specially the manner of the reformation of the religion, and what was done therein since the fifty and eighth year, until the threefcore and fifteenth year, fought, gathered, written, and collected, by me ROBERT LINDSAY of Pitscottie, instructed and learned, and lately informed by thir authors, as after follow; to wit, PA-TRICK lord LINDSAY of the Byres, Sir WILLIAM SCOT of Balwirrie, knight, Sir ANDREW Wood of Largo, knight, Mr. JOHN Major doctor of Theology, who wrote his chronicle hereupon, and also Sir DAVID LINDSAY of the Mont, knight, alias, Lyon King of Arms, with ANDREW Wood of Largo, principal and familiar fervant to king James V. Andrew Fernie of that ilk, a nobleman of recent memory, Sir WILLIAM BRUCE of Earlshall, knight, who hath written, very justly, all the deeds fince Floddon field.

THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

Beginning at King JAMES II.

ING JAMES I. being treasonably murdered, and the traiterous slayers of him condignly punished for the same; yet, nevertheless, the whole realm was broken and divided in itself; for, where-ever is no awe nor fear of a king or prince, they, that are most forthy in the ingyring and forthsetting themselves, live without measure or obedience, after their own pleasure; and, so long as the king is young, great men reign at their own pleasure and liberty, oppressing all men, as they will, without doubt, be punished thereaster.

This James I. left but one fon behind him, called James II. not past fix years of age, who then was brought to Scoon, and crowned by the nobility: But, because the king was not sufficient to govern the realm for inlake of age, the nobles made a convention, to advise whom they thought most able, both for man-

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hood

hood and wit, to take in hand the administration of the commonwealth: At which convention was none thought so convenient, as Sir ALEXANDER LIVING-STON knight, of Callendar; and therefore was made governor over all the realm. And also Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON was, of new, approved chancellor of Scotland, because that he had worthily exercised the same office in king James I. his time.

In the mean time, ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, being very potent in kin and friends, contemned all the king's officers, in respect of his great puissance: fo many complaints were made to the governor and magistrates, and especially upon the men of Anandale, because he not only spoiled the whole countries nearest to him, but also cruelly slew the indwellers thereof without any pity: and when he was commanded to repair fuch injuries done by him, he both obstinately disobeyed, and also stopt others that would have amended these offences; and caused proclaim publicly, that no man within Anandale, or other bounds whatfoever pertaining to his dominions, either to call or withdraw the rest; or yet, if he was called, that he obey not any of the king's officers, under the pain of death: alleging, that he had privilege of the king to decide all matters within the bounds foresaid: wherefore the whole nobility, that were men of good zeal and conscience, seeing justice utterly suppressed on every fide, were highly commoved at the faid earl of Douglas, but durst not attempt to punish therefore, because they dreaded to provoke greater troubles, both to themselves and also to the whole realm, if they would invade fo great a man.

Through this manner the whole youth of Scotland began to rage in mischief and lust; for, so long as there was no man to punish, much hership and slaughter was in land and buroughs, great cruelty of nobles amongst themselves; for slaughter, thest, and murder, were then patent, and so continually, day by day, that he was esteemed the greatest man of renown and same, that was the greatest brigand, thies, or murderer: But they were the cause of these mischiess, that were governors and magistrates of the realm.

In this mean time many great diffensions arose amongst us, but it is uncertain who was the mover, or by what occasion. The chancellor exercised his office further than became him. He kept both the castle of Edinburgh, and also our young king therein, who was committed to his keeping by the whole nobility; and a great part of the nobility affifted to his opinion. On the other fide, Sir ALEXANDER LIVING-STON, bearing the authority committed to him by the confent of the nobility, maintained another faction; to whose opinion, the queen mother, with many of the nobles, affifted very cruelly. So the principals of both the factions caused proclaim letters at the market-croffes, and principal villages of this realm, " that all men should obey, conform to the let-" ters fet forth by them, under the pain of death." Through which no man knew whom they should obey; and also great troubles appeared in this realm daily, because there was no man to defend the burgesfes, priefts, and poor men labourers haunting their leifom bufiness, either publicly or privately, and all other feeble persons unable to defend themselves, who were most cruelly vexed and afflicted by wicked unhappy tyrants, in such troublesome times: For when any past to scek redress from the chancellor, of injuries and troubles fustained by them, these thieves and brigands feigned themselves to be of the

other faction, and would burn their houses, and carry their whole goods away before they returned home. And even such like mischief besel them that went to complain to the governor of the oppression done to them. Some other good men, moved, upon consideration and pity of their present calamities, suffered many such injuries, and kept themselves at home, and sought no redress.

In the middle of thefe troubles, all things being out of order, the queen mother began to find out a mean, how she should diminish the chancellor's power, and augment the governor's, whose authority she asfilted; fo she paffed to Edinburgh, convoyed with a small train. The chancellor received her with gladness, and gave her entress to visit her young Son; and gave command, how oft the pleafed to have entress to the caftle, that it should be patent to her grace: but the very craftily diffembled that the came to intercommune with the nobles, alleging, that there was nothing that she hated so much as civil wars and disfenfion, knowing that great mischief was engendred among the noblemen in the realm; and therefore, with a glad will, the would that all discord were fet afide, and peace and unity to be nourished among the lords; and defired also that the king were brought up in the fear of God, and honourably in the fight of the world; for in him lay the only hope and reflication of the commonwealth to its ownselfate, and punishment of transgressors, for the offences committed at fuch troublous times; and, to bring these purposes to effect, she promised to imploy her whole care and labours to bring all the subjects of the realm to peace and reft. By thir, and other fuch like, words, the chancellor removed all suspicion and hatred out of his mind, which he suspected the queen bare toward him before :

before; fo followed such familiarity and kindness betwixt the chancellor and the queen, with her assisters, that she got credence to visit and haunt company with her son, both day and night, without any impediment or stop; while, at the last, spying opportunity, and time to sulfil her purpose, when she had such liberty to enter to the castle, she gave the chancellor to understand, that she had made a vow to pass in pilgrimage to the white kirk of Brechin, for the health and prosperous success of her son, desiring a licence to carry away two coffers with her clothes and ornaments forth of the castle; which being granted to her, she inclosed the young king in one of the said coffers, and her clothes in another.

Shortly after, the watchmen and keepers of the place deceived on this manner, she caused certain men, that knew of her purpose, to have some horses ready to carry away the faid coffers to the shore of Leith, where the coffers were embarked together with herfelf; and so she passed forward unto Stirling, and was passed a great part of the water, upward, or ever the keepers could perceive themselves decrived: and when the governor understood the same, he came suddenly forth of the castle of Stirling, with all his forces, and received the king and his mother with great joy and gladness, and esteemed the queen highly, that she had attempted so high and weighty a purpose, with great danger of her life, and had brought the same to a prosperous end, both for the welfare of the realm, and the king her fon: therefore the governor called all his friends. and affifters to a council, upon the third day thereafter and faid to them on this manner.

"What troubles, intolerable arrogancy, and how many diverse oppressions, to our great rebuke and such as the such

" you knows perfectly, fince Sir WILLIAM CREIGH-" TON, captain of Edinburgh, was promoted to the " chancellory of the realm, and keeping of our prince, " for not only he has made the haill lands, per-" taining to the king, tributary to him, who is a high " officer, but also would have oppressed us with unsuf-" ferable tyranny, and fo should have usurped all ho-" nour, riches and authority, and we had been brought " to poverty, shame, and to utter misery, if he had " holden forward his wicked purpose and intent. Has " he not laboured, ever fince, without any punishment of wicked limmers, and perturbers of the commonwealth, 'to compel all men to obey his charges? Has " he not laboured also to set forth and dress all matters, " both public and private, like as he had been supreme " magistrate, approved by the votes of this realm? Without doubt, if this noble lady our fovereign's " mother, through her wisdom, prudence and virtue, and specially by the favour of almighty God, had " not helped us all the fooner, we should have tholed " sharp persecution, ere any of us could perceive. She " paffed to the chancellor in Edinburgh against my will indeed, because I knew his subtilty so well, "that he had a marvellous forefight of all kind of " fuspicion, and of any kind of craft or fraud, that " may, in any way, redound to his hurt and damage; " yea, with a marvellous conceit, she hath taken away " her fon, and brought him now to us: whereby I " understand that the wifest man is not always sickerest, " nor yet the hardiest man most happy. " chancellor, notwithstanding all his wisdom and fore-" fight, with great shame, hath lost the king, under " the colour of whose authority he over-ran every man, " like a greedy and unfatiable tyrant, without all regard " of order or humanity. Whatever he purposed to " do,

" do, he fet out under the pretence of king, where-" by the poor people should take the greater fear and " dreadour to disobey him: but now his chance is " both foul and miferable, and every man will laugh " him to fcorn; and, by the contrary to us, we have " great honour ; and the rather that we have in our " hands the king, which we defired above all creatures " in the earth. Be of good courage therefore, all the " mischief, slaughter, banishment, troubles and vex-" ations, which the chancellor thought to have done " to us, let us do the like to him. Let us also take " up some men of war, and every man, after his pow-" er, fend fecret meffages to his friends, that they may " all, that favour us, conveen together quietly, in E-" dinburgh, the third day after this, early in the morning, fo that the chancellor shall not know us for to " come for the fieging of the caltle, while we have " the fiege even belted about the walls. Forward let " us fee ; fo ye shall have subjects to you, all that " would have arrogantly oppressed you. I know that " we have strength for this effect, if our hearts serve us: " but, I fay, the peril and the oppression that ye have " been in, on the one part, the commodity, freedom " and opportunity of time, on the other part, with " the great honour and glory that will follow there-" upon, should persuade you more than my words can " do. We inlake nothing but hardiment and courage: " chance and fortune, which we think to effay, will " fupply the reft.

When the governor had faid these words, every man, with a glad heart and will, promised to assist him with all their strength; yea, and albeit ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas would concur with the chancellor in their contrary; and the queen promised to surnish the men of war with victuals out of her own gir-

nels, enduring the time of the fiege. Attour she said, that no man mistered to take sear of the earl of Douglas, that he would come to support the chancellor, for he hated him so highly, that he wished nothing more than the ruin of the lord CREIGHTON'S house, and his posterity to be rooted out utterly. Through this every man took the better courage, and promised to do all things that lay in them, for performing of the governor's command and charge, and thereafter the convention dissolved, and every man past homeward to make him ready to the effect foresaid. But now will we return to our first purpose.

The chancellor perceiving himself so crastily deceived by his soes, and also perceiving that there was no place, almost, to be reconciled with his unfriends, he thought that there was nothing to sollow thereupon, in respect of the loss of the king, but utter ruin and destruction of his house, kin and friends; and therefore took purpose to send a message to ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas, and desire him to have support against the governor and queen, whom he supponed shortly to come to invade him; which, if he would do, he promised faithfully to make the said earl mutual support, and should stand his friend really and truly beyond all others, when it shall chance him to have ado with his enemies.

This message scantly ended, the earl of Douglas, with an ireful countenance, answered him again in manner following.

"It is but little fkaith, I think, forme, albeit such mifchievous traitors as WILLIAM CREIGHTON and
ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, that you call governor, move war contrary others: and also it becometh not the honourable state of noblemen, to
help any of them, albeit ilk one of them had wreckded another, so that there were not such a thing as

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" the memory of any of them hereafter to our poste-" rity. As to myfelf, there is nothing more pleafant "to me, than to hear of war and discord betwixt these " two unhappy tyrants; and namely, where the be-" ginning of their diffension is not founded upon a " good cause, but upon a shameful and wicked ground. " Would God I might see a miserable mischief to befal " them both, feeing they have both deferved the fame " condignly, through their own ambition, falshood, " pride and height: for I know it is the very just i judgment of God, that deceitful tyrants, fetting their " whole purpose and intent upon mischief, and wreck " of others, according to their demeries shall be punish-" ed in the fight of the world, and specially, seeing " they have so oft offended both noblemen and sim-" ple men of good life and conversation.

Soon by this the chancellor had received this answer, the governor had belted the siege about the castle, and invaded the same so sharply, that, nothing being provided nor well foreseen in time therefore within the castle, the chancellor took purpose therethrough to render the castle in the governor's hands; and, to bring this more easily to effect, he requested the governor, by a herald, to give him two days truce, that he might come forth to the fields, before the gates, to talk and intercommune with him, upon sundry affairs concerning the commonweal; and also promised, by the saith of his body, to shew him that thing which might redound to both their safeties, welfares and securities, contrary others that hated them both as one.

The governor, glad of this message, accompanied with a small number of his friends, as were convened betwixt them, went and met the chancellor at the place appointed

appointed; where the chancellor revealed the sharp answers of the earl of Douglas, that he had fent to him the time he fought support to eschew the governor's present wrath, faying, " he wished nothing more, " than that ilk one of them should destroy another: " wherefore, said he, since this wickedness and evil " is equally manifest to us both; and, in the mean " time if it shall chance us to continue any further in " this fead, it shall redound to his advantage, and to " our great skaith and shame; whereby we two shall be " an easy prey to the earl of Douglas, our common " enemy; and therefore I would we had regard to If our diffen-" the welfare of ourselves and friends. " fion have any further progress, it will be mani-" fold more noisom to us, than if we had wars with " our own friends; and, as to my felf, I remove all " rancour of mind, feeking freely, from the bottomof my heart, your peace and kindness, and am " content both to render my felf and the castle in " your hands, under what conditions you please to " prescribe to me, willing to be a true faithful fer-" vant and subject to the prince, and obedient to " yourfelf so long as you bear the government of this " realm, after the advice of the king's counfellors, " and yours.

The governor heard thir words very pleafantly, and had good hope of better to follow hereupon, thinking well, that this present discord being put to rest, and the commonwealth put to quietness, he should more easily repress all injuries within this realm, and therefore, with a hearty countenance, he requested the chancellor to be mindful to do as he had said; and if he kept promise truly, he should cut off all the wicked members, perturbers of the commonwealth, and rule the realm, from thence, with great tranquil-

lity and peace. Then, without any further, so soon as he had put himself in the king and governor their wills, and delivered the keys of the castle, in sign and token of the rendring thereof freely, he requested the benevolence of the whole nobility present, for the time, who held him, from thenceforth, not as an enemy, but as a principal pillar of the commonwealth.

After this the governor was received in the castle with great triumph and mirth; and there Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON received a gift, again, both of the castle and chancellory, like as he had before; through the which such amity and friendship daily increased betwixt the governor and the chancellor, and amongst their friends on every side, that all men sup-

poned the same to endure for ever unbroken.

In the mean time, while the country was waltring to and fro, in this manner, there was no other thing but theft, reif and flaughter, in the fouth and west of Scotland; for Sir THOMAS BOYD flew ALLAN STUART, lord of Darnly (who, ere he died, obtained the superiority of Lenox from the king) at Powmathorn, three miles from Falkirk, for old fead which was betwixt them, the third year after the death of king TAMEST. Which deed was foon requitted thereafter; for ALEXANDER STUART, to revenge his brother's flaughter, manfully fet upon Sir THOMAS BOYD, in plain battle, where the faid Sir THOMAS was cruelly flain, with many valiant men on every It was foughten that day fo manfully, that both the parties would retire and rest them diverse and fundry times, and recounter again at the found of the trumpet; while, at the last, the victory inclined to ALEXANDER STUART, as faid is; and fo the whole fouth-west of Scotland was divided in two parts, and never took rest. till the decease of ARCHIBALD earl

the year of God 1439. To whom WILLIAM, his son, succeeded, a young man of sourteen years of age, gotten upon MAULD LINDSAY, daughter to the earl of Crawford, whom the said ARCHIBALD married at Dundee sometime, with such triumph and pomp, that never the like was seen at no man's marriage.

This WILLIAM was the fixth belted earl of that house of Douglas. He was a young man of singular good appearance in the beginning; but, alas! the tender youth, if it be not brought up in the fear of God, is so easily corrupted, that it inclines rather to vice than virtue, especially through the mischievous company of harlots and flatterers, which are the most unhappy and wicked pest that ever man, of whatsoever estate and condition he be, may be infected with: For, if this young gentleman had come in honest and godly company, without doubt he had been a man of fingular good wit and manhood: But he haunted proud and ungodly mens company and counfels, and thereby he, to the great contempt of the king's authority, at all times accompanied above his estate. Where-ever he rode, he was convoyed with a thousand horsemen, at fome times two thousand, or more; amongst whom he maintained a great company of thieves and murderers; and would bring them to Edinburgh, or any other towns, of fet purpofe, in the king's fight; to let him understand his mighty power that he might raise. Attour, he thought himself free from the injuries of all enemies, if he represented the same arrogancy that his father did use before; and so he not only embraced the whole form and manner of his father's conditions, but also surmounted his pride and height, above the expectation of any man. He decked his houshold much more than it was before in his father's time; and also, by the persuasion of flatterers, he conduced sundry wicked tyrants, out of all countries to depend upon him, wherethrough he might be the more dreadful and awful to every man: while, at the last, he took such conceit of himself within his own bounds, through the vain flattery of his dependers, that he thought no man within the realm might be his fellow or companion: For, it is said, he thought but a small matter to make knights; and therefore, to advance his mighty power, he created senators of the parliament within his own bounds, and held parliament as he had been a king.

Sir JAMES STUART, brother to the lord of Lorn, who had married king JAMES I. his wife, affifted the earl of Douglas, and that through some dif-Sension that was between him and the governor and chancellor. By what occasion they discorded can no man tell. It is supponed, he thought, seeing the country so divided, as said is, to have had some rule in the realm, as well as any other, by reason he had married the king's mother. The governor, to repress Sir JAMES STUART'S insolence, took him with his brother, and cast them both in prison, dreading, if they had reforted long together in the earl of Douglas's company, that he should have greater difficulty to repress their insolence and tyranny. The queen, perceived to be highly commoved and offended at her husband's and his brother's imprisonment, was warded also within the castle of Stirling, by the governor, which was in his own keeping at that time, and detained there, and never was relaxed till there was a convention made of the whole nobility, in whose presence it behoved her to make purgation, that she was free of all mif-rule committed by her husband,

nor gave no counsel thereto; and promised, is ever it should chance him, any manner of way, to trouble the realm, or molest any of the subjects, that she should not be participant thereof in time coming. After this the said Sir James and his brother were letten forth at the request of the chancellor; and Sir Alexander Seton, alias Gordon, the first earl of Huntley of that name, obliged and became cautioner, that such enormities, contrary the king and his governor, should not be committed in time coming, under pain of sour thousand merks, nor yet to usurp any thing in the commonwealth.

Albeit the governor punished and corrected thir men according to their demerits, yet he punished, with a greater rigour, others, right honourable and ancient men, for small and light suspicion that he took of them, without any decreet or inquisition of their peers; for either he compelled them to compone for themselves, if he suspected them to make any innovation, or elfe, without any trial of their crime or innocence, they should incur his danger and indignation; which was very hard, in respect he was governor of the realm. Others, that were manifest oppressors, were not only tholed to pass over without any punishment of their wickedness, but also were remitted, although they had committed never fo great This was done without the chancellor's counsel, wherethrough he was highly offended; for he thought well, by this form and fashion of the governor, both he and his authority should be contemned, and the commonwealth, without regard, wickedly to be overthrown: but he suppressed the anger of his heart, till he faw better occasion and opportunity of time; and thereby took purpose to pass homeward to EdinEdinburgh, there to contain himself till he was further advised.

All this time the governor remained, with the king and his mother, in Stirling, and retained a great guard of men of war, as use is in Scotland in all such troublous times, about him; and albeit he understood the chancellor, to be a man of high spirit and courage, not willing to sit with so many wrongs as he had gotten unrevenged, if his power would serve thereto; yet, not the less, in respect he was governor, having the king in keeping, and therefore all the realm would and should obey him, he regarded no man, ruling all things at his pleasure, without any advice and consultation of other nobles in this realm.

When fuch things were in doing, WILLIAM earl of Douglas fent MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernald, and ALLAN LAWDER, ambaffadors to CHARLES VII. king of France, to give him the dukery of Turine, pertaining to him in heritage, which his grandfire, who was sain at the battle of Vernoil for the defence and liberty of France, joyfed and bruiked before and promifed faithfully, that what somever was contained in the charter made thereupon, that he should fulfil the same exactly, like as his forebeers did before him. CHARLES, moved of great zeal and love that he bare toward the kings of Scotland and their leiges, granted gladly their request and message, and gave to him, and his procurators, the whole rents and lands in France, that his grandfire had before. On the other fide, the faid earl of Douglas's ambassadors, in his name, gave their oaths of fidelity to the king of France, and his fucceffors, to do all things concerning his part, as faid is.

The message, sped with such happy success, as we have shewn to you already, caused this carl of Dou-

glas, being of tender age, to be puft up with new ambition, and greater pride than he was before, as the nature of youth is: and also the prideful tyrants and flatterers that were about him, through this occasion, spurred him to greater tyranny and oppression, than

any man wonted to do before, in any age.

But this oppression and mischief reigned not only in the fouth-west parts, but also the men of the isles invaded fundry parts in Scotland, at that time, both by fire and fword, and specially the Lenox was wholly overthrown. The principal men of the isles were LAUCHLAN MACLEAN (OF MACLEOD) and MUR-DOCH GIBSON, two notable thieves and murderers. To relift thir cruel murderers and traitors, JOHN COLQUHOUN of Luís gathered a company of men, and fought at Lochlomond, beside Inch-merine, where he, being overfet with a great multitude of men, was flain, with many of his folks, fighting manfully to death, and few of the men of the illes were flain. At that victory, traitors became so proud and insolent, that they burnt and herried the country where-ever. they came, and spared neither old nor young, bairn nor wife, but cruelly would burn their houses and them together, if they made any obstacle; or else, if they made no debate, without confideration and pity, would cut their throats, and thereafter carry away their gear and wares with their wives and bairns, who, not witting of fuch incursions, were cruelly murdered and flicked in their beds, without any regard of old or young. Thus they raged through the realm, without any respect to God or man.

In this year, which was the year of God, 1439. there arose a great dearth of victuals within this realm, partly because of the labourers of the ground, that might not fow nor win their corns, through the

tumults

tumults and cumbers in the country; and partly, which was most apparent to be true, it was the very wrath and ire of God, to cause us know ourselves, and, through that scourge, to provoke us to amendment of life. There reigned also a horrible pelt, at that time, in this country; for all men, that were infected therewith, died the same day they took it, without any remedy. Attour, albeit thir three plagues and scourges reigned amongst us, yet, nevertheless, fome men made them never to mend their lives, but rather became daily worse; divers others, that complained upon the enormities that they fustained, got little or no redress; wherefore the people began to weary, and curse that ever it chanced them to live in fuch wicked and dangerous times. It was then whifpered throughout the realm, that the governor was the whole cause of all mischief that reigned, for the time, within the realm, alleging, that, fince he got the government, every man supposed that he bore greatter favour to bloody and mischievous tyrants, than it became him; and, for the hatred that he had to the chancellor, he drew also his assistance and familiarity to the earl of Douglas, and maintained him only for the chancellor's fubversion and ruin: but how foon he knew the fame perfectly, that every man meant that it should redound to his great hurt, that the governor and the earl of Douglas were confede. rate, he began to confider, and to paule thereupon very earnestly, and took purpose to do some hardy and witty act, wherethrough he stould hazard himself, kin and friends, to be out of this present peril, or else be herried, and peril all for ever; while, at the last, when he had fure knowlege where the king was at his pastime, and what folks convoyed him, by explorators, he, accompanied with certain chosen men, pas fed.

fed his way to the park of Stirling, upon a mirk night, and gave command to his friends to be in readiness. with their whole forces to affift him by the way, and to ly near hand, betwixt Linlithgow and Stirling, if he should be pursued by his unfriends; and they that came with himself, to the number of one hundred armed men, to come but in a fmall company, at diverse passages, to eschew all suspicion that any might conceive concerning the purpose, if they had been

met upon the morrow in the morning.

The chancellor happened better than any man fupposed; for even, at the breaking of the day, the king came out of the castle, to hunt and pass his time, convoyed with a small company of horsemen, as his use was; or ever he could perceive the chancellor's folks lying in wait for him, he was environed and circuited round about with them, who, all together, faluted the king with great reverence and humility; which being done, the chancellor requested his grace affectuously, that he would be so good as to deliver himself forth of that prison, wherein the governor most wickedly detained him, to the great fkaith and damage of the commonwealth; exhorted him therefore to pass to Edinburgh, or to any other part of Scotland where he pleased, and he should convoy him forth of all mens danger, against the hearts of all them that would the contrary. " Attour, it becometh, faith he, a prince " to live freely, empiring above others, and not fubject " to any vaffal's correction and chaftisement; for that was the well of them that withed his welfare." Thir words being spoken; the king began to smile, wherethrough they understood the king to be content of their coming, and glad to go with them; and therefore hint his horse by the bridle, and convoyed him to Edinburgh. At this time some of the king's servants

and neighbours, that came with him forth, made obflacle and debate; but the governor's eldestation, Sir
ALEXANDER LIVINGSTON, forbade them to make
any impediment, saying, "it was a vain purpose to
"strive with so many armed men, and specially where
"there was no danger; and it was better, at that time
"to sustain a shame, albeit there was none; and more
"necessary to give place to their enemy, than to at"tempt the thing that was far above their strength."

It is the law and course of sortune, that he is nearest
peril and decay, that sits presently highest upon the
wheel; and, by the contrary, he will chance to be
illustrated and extolled, who, by appearance, is utterly dejected and cast down,

Soon after that the king had taken his way to Edinburgh, there met him then four thousand armed men, to assist him by the chancellor's convoy, if any man would have invaded him, and received him with great joy; so, before that the governor got word, the king

was placed in Edinburgh.

In this mean time of the king's taking, it chanced the governor to be a day's journey out of Stirling at that time: but when he got word thereof, he sped to Stirling again with all diligence, right solicitous in his mind, and advised what should be done; for this vexed him more than all the troubles he had before: and he was the more crabbed with himself, being esteemed, with all men within the realm, a man of singular good wit and foresight, that he should have been so negligent and slothful in keeping of the king, whereby his unfriends had great occasion to have him in derision. Attour, he burnt the more for anger within himself, that he was so mischanced in this behalf, he leaving his familiars and friends with the king, who knew nothing of this unhappy fortune that had chan-

ced him, which all his enemies defired above all things both day and night. And also, he believed nothing more than a failhood among themselves at home, in respect of his enemies facile prey; hour and time so fully kept, and the king's glad departing without any debate or impediment. When he had paufed on this manner, up and down, and redargued himself for his flothfulness, he began to advise how he should eschew all danger, present and to come : And considering, that it was most unsicker to commit his life and honour in the binding up of bands with the earl of Douglas, who was but a young man, without knowlege and experience of fo high and mighty matters, following the counsel of vain greedy flatterers, overrunning every man that he might overcome, without either law or reason; through the whilk, every man that favoured the commonwealth, efteemed him as a manifest enemy, and not a true liege of the realm : And so he thought, that if he would fully leave the chancellor, and others his faithful friends, and colleague with the earl of Douglas, in contempt of the chancelflor, who would have wrecked them both before, it were a ready way to cause himself, kin and friends, be despighted and lightlied by the whole nobility, and be deprived of his government, to his great difhonour and shame; at the last, his bairns, kindred and friends wrecked utterly, and himself compelled to leave the realm for ever. Shortly, he confulted with his friends, what they thought fit and best to be done in this matter.

The matter long reasoned too and fro by men of good experience, they thought nothing better, than to dissemble all offences that were bygone, with all quarrels and debates, betwixt the chancellor and him, to be set aside, and to be at unity and concord, as they were before.

before. The governor thought this council very good and fweet; and therefore, beyond all men's expectation, past his way to Edinburgh, accompanied with a small number of folks, and that, namely, by the draught and counsel of two wife, godly and prudent prelates, being in Edinburgh for the time, viz. HENRY LIGHTON bishop of Aberdeen, and JOHN INNES bishop of Morray, who, being both honourable men. entertained as well with the governor as chancellor. in all times bygone, made great labours and travels to bring them to peace and concord, while, at the last, they brought them both together in St. Giles's kirk, void of all company and armor, and accompanied with a fmall number of their most special friends that were about them; then the governor began in manner following.

" When I was in company, fundry and diverse times, with wife and prudent men, well befeen in " histories both old and new, oftentimes I heard them . " fay, that fober goods, with peace and concord, " grow ay, more and more, to great fubftance at the " last; and, by the contrary, right potent men, through " a finall diffension, have been brought to utter wreck " and hership. And not only have we this into an-" cient histories of other realms, but also we have " the experience of the same daily amongst ourselves. " What skaith and damage, besides the displeasure of " our hearts, which is worst of all, have we both " fultained? What loss of goods and gear our " familiars and friends have had, fince the begin-" ning of our diffension, as I believe, there are liv-" ing men can tell? For, of truth, we have neither " ftrength nor riches that we had before, nor yet are " we in fo honourable estate, neither with nobles nor " with commons, as we are wont to be in time of " con-

4 concord. Thir civil wars and diffensions make us " both odious to the people; and, because it diminishes " our fame and honour, which are more precious to us 44 than our lives, I would we took example of the " things bygone, and not of the dangers that are to " come. I am forfooth the more offended, that we " two, to whom the government of this realm is most " gaining, and therefore was given to us by the confent " of the whole nobility, should be holden as mocking-" flocks to every man, and esteemed as prideful and " ambitious tyrants; and to be only the cause of so great theft, hership, stealth, reif and slaughter ; " whereby the whole realm may be an easy prey to " our enemies; for they desire nothing more than our 4 diffension, daily beholding till we be both rooted out Through the which all laws and justice. 4 utterly. " should be contemned; and every man that pleases " shall put hand in the king's own person; or else " shall abuse all government and authority. Remem-46 ber therefore, that the nobility has put us in this " place, till the king's majesty come to perfect age, to " hold this realm in tranquillity on every part; to re-" press all seditious persons, and defend innocents " from the tyrants, for by our dissension the realm is " wrecked and betrayed, and not ruled and governed as it should be. I beseech therefore, if thou has " love or favour, either to this realm or prince, that " thou wilt remove all rancour of heart, wherethrough " the commonwealth is wrecked; and let us be re-" conciled again to our old friendship that was be-" twixt us; for friendship is the most happy band " that can be made, for welfare of realms and coun-" tries; without the which no man, private or pub-" lic, may be profitable to himfelf, nor yet to the " commonwealth: And therefore, let all injuries be " fet

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" fet afide, having the welfare of this realm affixed be-" fore our eyes; and, that ye hould grant the rather " to this my request, I forgive all wrongs done to me, " and shall repair all wrongs and offences done by me. at your own pleafure and will. Attour, the king " shall remain in thy government and keeping till he " come to perfect age, because his father, when he " was on life, committed him to thy care and charge; " and, as to my own part, I defire no more, but that " ilk one of us love another heartfully, as it becom-" eth us to do; and that the nobility, with the com-" mons of the realm, may fee and understand us to " be faithful governors and magistrates of the same, " punishers of trespassers, and maintainers of equity " and justice : the which if we do not, but diffent a-" mong ourfelves, regarding our own private winning " more than the welfare of the realm, then our own " gear and substance shall vanish away for ever, our-" felves, wives and bairns put to wreck; and that which is worst of all, the king shall be in danger, and " tint betwixt us; his treasures and riches come to " nought; and finally, through our prideful vain am-" bition, the realm shall be an easy and facile prey to " our enemies."

When the governor had faid in this manner, the chancellor made answer in manner following.

"It is not unknown to all the leiges of this realm, that I detected, in all times bygone, all fedition and wars, fetting my whole labours and diligence to effiche the fame, after my power; and as to the prefent discord newly rifer amongst us, which is intended through prideful and vain ambition, gladly, with my heart, I would it were so slockened forth, and fet aside, that there should not be so much as a spark, or any kind of memory thereof in time

coming, left it should, through small occasion, afterward raife and kindle greater hatred among us. " I know perfectly, fo long as hatred and discord " reigns amongst us, there shall never be grace nor " riches within the realm, and therefore I cannot re-" fuse both the thankful and honourable conditions et necessary to myself, and also to the welfare of this " realm, and specially where they come of free will, " not coacted nor compelled, for I desire all mens er amity and kindness, and specially of them that " are governors of the commonwealth, yet it is not " decent that either of us decern upon this matter, " nor yet prescribe a form and fashion to the agreement " of the present discord; for it is contrary to all reaof fon and law, that any minister law unto himself : " befide, that whatever the one decerns, the other " shall be miscontented therewith, and complain, that " the fame was done by all the heads and the talk: " ing that was amongst them : necessary it is therefore, I think, for me, that some prudent and witty " man, equally for us both, a favourer of the commonwealth, be chosen for both the parties, at " whose arbitriment and sentence we shall repair all " the offences bygone, with all other things cones cerning the government of this country; for all " men, that have any perfect favour thereto, will not only be careful of his counsel, and spend his goods " and gear, but also they will ware their lives to the advancement and welfare of the fame; and especi-" ally they that are placed above others, as a perfect " example for administration of equity and justice.

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Thus all their friends that stood about began to extol and love them both with great thanksgiving, that both they regarded the commonwealth so much, and preserved the same to all private quarrels and debates. Then

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Then both the faid parties were compromit, by their eaths, to stand at the deliverance of the arbitrators chosen by them both, who shortly brought them both to unity and concord; and, finally, were so friendly consederate, that neither of them appeared ever to fail to another again.

Shortly after there was a parliament fat at Edinburgh, to make statutes for repairing the commonwealth to its old estate. At this parliament many and innumerable complaints were given in, whereof the like were never feen before; there were so many widows, bairns and infants, feeking redrefs for their husbands, kindred and friends, that were cruelly flain by wicked bloody. murderers; fiklike, many for hership, theft and reif, that there was no man but he would have ruth and pity to hear the same. Shortly, murther, theft and flaughter, were come in fuch dalliance among the people, and the king's acts came in such contempt, that no man wist where to feek refuge, unless he had fworn himself a servant to some common murderer, or bloody tyrant, to maintain him contrary the invafion of others, or else had given largely of his gear to fave his life, and give him peace and reft.

But when the lords of parliament had confulted long, how, and in what manner, matters should be a mended and repaired; and also perceiving the earl of Douglas to be a principal cause of all wicked enormities and mischies; and, by reason of his riches, kindred and friends, they could not repress his tyranny by strength nor might; they therefore wrote pleasant writings to him, purposing to cut him off by slight, subtilty and crast, requesting, right affectuously, the said earl and his brother to come in for assistance of the commonwealth, which, without him, his kindred and friends could not be goodly ruled; for, since they

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abstained from the guiding of the same, it was utterly wrecked and come to nought. Such coloured and painted words they fent to this young nobleman to draw him in the fnare, albeit they intended nothing more than his destruction and ruin : fo the earl being given to conquest, glory and honour to himself, and to his friends (and namely he not understanding such fair coloured words, " That nothing could be done " without him and his kindred and friends") and alfo, upon the other part, by the information of some avafitious courtiers, and greedy flattefers that depended upon him, having regard to their own privy profit more than to their mafter's fame and honour, he took purpose to obey the letters, and came forward to the king to Edinburgh, accompanied with his brother Davib, whom he never suffered to pass a foot-breadth from Himfelf, and others his most honest friends, believing no falshood to bechance him afterward, in refpest of the hearty melfage that came to him by the magistrates and lords of parliament.

When this earl was coming forward on this way, as is declared, the chancellor, on fet purpofe, rode forth to meet him, to remove all suspicion of falshood out of the earl's mind, and requested him very earnestly to ride to Creighton with him, and to pass his time for a day or two. To which the earl of Douglas confented very gladly, and remained two days, very well treated and entertained, with his kindred and friends; where the chancellor fwore, by his great oath and holy facraments, that there was no man in Scotland, except the king's majefty, that he favoured fo well as the earl of Douglas, and would efteem him, from thenceforth, equally with the governor of the realm. This young gentleman, foftered with fuch fattery, was allured to pass to Edinburgh. The chancellor,

cellor, as he that had no privy deceit nor malice latent in his mind, faid, with a hearty countenance, in this manner.

" Seeing fo it is, that the king hath given and " granted to you the largest riches and puissance of " any others your friends and neighbours, I will ex-" hort you with all my heart (as him whose house, " kindred and friends are more dear to me than all " the rest of Scotland, mine own excepted) to stand " obedient to the king's laws and statutes, which it " pleases the eternal God to reign above us at this " time; and remember, the high fortune you are pro-" moted to, the great dependence of vassals, and land " and man-rents, with other great strength and power, " which needs not to be reckoned at this time, are not " come to you, that you should be more insolent " thereof, thinking thereby to oppress inferiors, or " yet milken the magistrates appointed by the plea-" fure of God, and the confent of the nobility; but " rather, if the king hath given you all thir foresaids, " of his own benevolence and pleasure, it becomes " you to have him in all honour and reverent obe-" dience to his charge and pleafure, and, above all " things, to defend the commonwealth, not regarding " of land and goods for maintaining of the fame in " peace and rest; therefore cause all enormities and " crimes, committed heretofore, to be refounded and " remended within your bounds, and fuffer not the " poor people to be overcome and rest by strong and " mischievous tyrants, nor stop no man to be brought " to the king, that is a manifest trespasser or a lim-" mer, but, on the contrary, minister justice equally " within your bounds, as becomes you; and there-" after, not only thole others to be punished, but also " to come with your whole power and strength to B 3

"bring all wicked butchers, and manifest oppressors of the poor, to be adjudged, and those condignly according to the laws; otherwise it will redound to your great dishonour, hurt and shame, to the wreck and hership of your goods and gear; and that which is worst of all, to the utter extirpation of your house, kindred and friends; of the which, since I favour you so well, I would not ye were the author; nor yet that you should obscure nor blot the homour in civil government which your forbeers conquessed to their posterity."

The young gentleman being of good inclination (if he had been well accompanied) took the chancellor's admonition in good part, promising to repair all things that he had counselled, and to obey and serve the king's majesty with due honour and reverence; but knew nothing of the chancellor's fraud and guile, who thought that this realm should be in greater tranquillity, if the earl of Douglas and his brother had been cutted off suddenly.

After this they came to Edinburgh, without any understanding what was devised for their destruction. Some men judged that no good was to come of this journey, and that through the frequent messages both coming and going betwixt the governor and chancellor, and therefore gave counsel, that none of them should enter, at that time, into the castle of Edinburgh, or, at least, if he entered, best it were to send his brother David back again home, and not to break their father's counsel, who inhibited them, that they should never pass both together where there was any appearance of danger, fraud or guile, less it should be the wreck of themselves and house. The earl gave no credit to such conjectures, saying he had experience

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experience of the governor's and chancellor's faith and loyalty in fuch cases; and, as to the chancellor, he had fo entertained and treated him, that he could dread no evil and falshood at his hand; yet such quiet rumours fpread through the whole company, that caused Sir DA-VID DOUGLAS to persuade the earl, his brother, to turn homeward again, dreading fome mischief to fall upon this hasty friendship : For the which the earl reproved his brother very fharply, faying it was not decent for him to give ear to such vain unhappy flatterers, who were the very occasion of all dissension and discord among noblemen, fo long as they had place; and therefore gave command, with right fharp, threatning and bragging words, that no man in his company meant fuch thing, let be to speak the same. But behold here a notable case, and worthy to be marked; the nearer that any man be to a peril or mischief, he runs the more headlong thereto, and hath no grace to hear them that give him counsel to eschew the danger.

The earl of Douglas being a young nobleman of good inclination, wifer perchance than any other of equal age with him, would neither give ear to his goodwillers and favourers, nor yet was he content with them that gave the counsel to turn homeward again, but reproved them highly; wherethrough fundry noblemen, with fad, driry and quiet countenance followed him, and durst not speak any further. may be well faid of this man, that fafety itself, albeit it would, could not preferve this man from destruction; and so this man, posting to his death, without further delay, spurreth his horse, and came forward to Edinburgh, and entered into the castle; where, by outward countenance, he was received with great joy and gladness, and banquetted royally, with all delicates that could be gotten; and ever that he should take no

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fuspicion of any deceit to follow thereupon. at the last, many of the earl's friends being scaled off the town, and opportunity ferving, with confent and advice of the governor, who came then, of fet purpole, to Edinburgh, when the dinner was finished, and all the delicate courses taken away, the chancellor presented a buil's head before the earl of DougLAS. which was a fign and token of condemnation to the death; but the earl and his brother beholding this manifold treason, with sad mind and driry countenance, fart up from the board, and made to leap at some place where they might anywife get out; but then, from hand, a company of armed men rushed out round about them, who, breaking all hospitality, lead them to the Castle-hill; with Sir MALCOLM FLEMING of Cumbernauld, and other gentlemen their affifters and familiars, and shook their heads from them. This was done in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and forty years. It is faid, the king, being of ten years then, lamented and wept very fore, when he faw the men of war bind the earl's hands and his brother's with cords; and prayed the chancellor, for God's fake, to let them alone, and fave their lives for any pleasure that he would defire him; and therefore the chancellor boafted the king right fharply, faying, " that it was for no privy hatred that he bare toward " the earl of Douglas, and his favourers and friends, " that he should thole the death that day, according to " his deferving, but because he was a plain enemy to " the king's person, and a manifest traitor to the com-" monwealth; and so long as they were on life, the " realm would never be at peace and rest; but, if " they were cut off, the country should be at greater " tranquillity. Then, from hand, thir gentlemen were " hurled forth and execute, as faid is." From

From thenceforth the realm was at some part quieter, for a certain time, than it was before; albeit, not long after this WILLIAM, succeeded his uncle JAMES, father-brother to this WILLIAM, of Anandale, and lord Balveny, who was called Grose JAMES, because that he was corpulent and grown of body; for this WILLIAM had no bairns of his body, nor brother to succeed him.

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This fames was the seventh earl of Douglas, and was no less hated by the lieges of this realm than any of his predecessors; because that, within short space, sloughter and hership reigned as fast in his days, and especially within his bounds, as ever it did before; not that he maintained any thieves and murderers, but because he punished them not; for he thought ever to have excused himself with his grownness and inability. Others thought, that, albeit he had never risen out of his bed, he should have had such men about him, at his command, as should have suppressed all oppression and murder within his bounds: But he lived not long; for he deceased not long after at Abercorn, the third year after he was made earl.

This JAMES had seven sons, to whom the eldest succeeded by tailie of the lands of the earldom of Douglas; but the lands that were not tailied, sell in heritage to a sister of the said WILLIAM, viz. the lands of Galloway; and therefore she was called, the Fair Maiden of Galloway. There sellass to her, Wigtoun, Anandale, Balveny and Ormond: And it is to be understood, that this JAMES, called Gross JAMES, sollowed the inclination of many others, greedy to conques greater rents to his posterity than he had himself; thinking it was wickedness to divide the old heritage of a house; and, by the contrary, it was wisdom to amplify the dominions lest by the forebeers, and therefore to couple all thir lands fore-

faid in one another: And, to that effect, procured the pope's dispensation to marry his eldest son upon his brother's daughter, fifter to the faid WILLIAM. By this cause, without doubt, the whole lands should be united in one; yet, notwithstanding, the rest of the Douglasses scunnered, thinking the marriage to be un. lawful; also they thought that over great lands and riches were odious to be under a king, which, within thort time, should be the extirpation of the sirname, and rooting forth perpetually of the house. The principal of the DOUGLASSES that diffuaded this marriage and annexation of the lands, were, the earl of Angus, and Sir JOHN DOUGLAS of Dalkeith, knight, both descended of the earl of Douglas's house. When one hath over meikle gear, either it provoketh the possessor thereof to attempt some ungodly purpose; or elfe, for a little crime, or a light suspicion that kings and princes take of them, fometimes they are brought to utter destruction and confusion. But this earl JAMES, named Gross JAMES, was nothing moved with their words; and also understanding that the king himself was to put inhibition to this marriage betwixt his fon and his brother's daughter, he halted the same with greater diligence, not sparing the time forbidden, as was the use then, and caused solemnize the band of matrimony. Wherefore the people, moved with scrupulosity, judged and said, that such a marriage could never be prosperous and happy, which was of truth, and the people not beguiled of this opi-Many neighbours feads arose in every part, and that the rather by this WILLIAM, fon to the faid JAMES, or else by his affisters; and namely by JOHN GORMACK an Athole-man, one of the principal fworn tyrants to the earl of Douglas, who, with a great company of bloody butchers, fet upon Sir WILLIAM

WILLIAM RUTHVEN of that ilk, sherisf-principal of Perth, to have slain himself, and rest a brigand-thief of Athole from the king's justice, whom the sherisf would have judged: But this Sir WILLIAM RUTHVEN, seeing the danger came so suddenly upon him, was much abased, and prayed his friends, and gentlemen that were with him for the time, to take a good part with him, and not to thole themselves to be murdered with a meinzie of unmerciful thieves. And it was so long soughten with doubtsome chance, till at the last the sherisf was victor, and JOHN GORMACK, with thirty of his company, manfully slain upon Midsummer, one thousand sour hundred and forty three years.

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Short while after this combat, there followed another at Dumbarton, to no less damage to the country than the other was. ROBERT SEMPLE and PA-TRICK GALBRAITH, deputes to the King's felf (who then was fourteen years of age, having the governance of this realm in his own hand) to keep the castle of Dumbarton as principals, began to strive amongst themselves, which of them should be principal captain thereof; and when they could not agree with words, they pulled out fwords and fought right cruelly, till, at the last, ROBERT SEMPLE was slain, and then PATRICK GALBRAITH, being very familiar with the earl of Douglas, took the castle in keeping, without any further delay. The earl of Douglas began to muse upon the slaughter, how that he was judged the principal mover of both the combats, through all the realm, and at court, thinking there could come no good of these things at last, when the king's majesty came to perfect age, if he amended not in time; and therefore took purpose to pass to the king in Stirling to get a remission of all things, and begin smil

begin to live a better life in time coming. So, being accompanied with a great number of folks, paffed to the king in Stirling, and there, at the first coming, fell upon his knees, and put himfelf, and all that he had, in the king's will, defiring remission of fanks committed by him, and that he might have licence to wait upon his majesty, but as the soberest courtier in his majesty's company; which, if he would do of his gracious mercy, he promifed to be as serviceable as any man within the realm; and also swore the great eath, that he should purfue all thieves and brigands at the uttermost of his power. The king, with great humanity of this nobleman, offering himfelf willingly in the king's hands, not only remitted his offences, but also made him principal of his secret council, and used him most familiar of any man a long time thereafter. This WILLIAM, being familiar with the king, bore himfelf very pleafantly to every man, and did nothing but that which appeared to all men to be well done for the welfare of the country; fo, creeping piece and piece in the king's conceit, tarried upon opportunity of time to be revenged upon his enemies, and namely upon Sir WILLIAM CREIGHT ON chancellor, who fo mischantly had put down his eames, WILLIAM earl of Douglas, and DAVID his brother.

While the earl appealed his anger on this wife, the chancellor, perceiving that he was offended with him, denuded himself of the chancellory, and passed his way, with his kindred and friends, to Edinburgh, thinking that he might most easily, being in the castle, eschew the danger and injuries that the earl of Douglas was preparing for him; and surnished the castle with munition, men and victuals, strongly. It is to be understood, that not this gentleman alone seared the earl of Douglas, but also the governor, dreading him in the

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fame manner, denuded himfelf of all offices and charges that he bare, except the keeping of the caftle of Stirling, and departed haltily out of the court. Then the earl of Douglas, by whose moven and convoy the whole realm and court was guided, thinking he had fufficient time and opportunity to revenge all injuries done to his friends before, caused summon Sir WIL-LIAM CREIGHTON, fometime chancellor, Sir A-LEXANDER LIVINGSTON, fometime governor, with his two fons, Sir ALEXANDER and Sir JAMES, knights, all, by an herald, to underly the law for fuch crimes as the king's majesty was to lay to their charge; with certification, that if they compeared not, they should be denounced traitors to our sove-Besides this, he thought, if they reign's highness. compeared, that he should get his will of them. Thir noblemen being fummoned, as faid is, wrote again an answer to the king, devised by all their consents, saying " There was nothing more dear to them than the welfare of the king's person, and the stability of this " realm, ready with fuch obedience and fervices as " became subjects to their prince; but because they " knew the deadly enemies, who ruled the realm, " working all to their confusion and utter ruin, likely " to obtain their wicked intent, partly through the " great favour that the king bore to the earl of Dou-" glas, and partly through his great puissance, they " should be overthrown if they came in: Therefore " it was expedient for them to give place, and flee " the fury of their enemies, till all injuries were fet " at rest and ineased, and the commonwealth in tran-" quillity and peace, and then they should do fuch " honour and reverence as became them duly for the " welfare of the realm; for it is very unlikely to " commit "commit themselves to this present danger, which they knew persectly to come in. Attour, as to the king's commandment and charge, it was thought unworthy that maintainers of thieves and murderers, being surrogated in their places, who were constitute and called to the government of the realm by the votes of the lords of parliament, ruled the same with the favour of all good men, till now that the king's majesty, destitute of such noblemen, favourers of the commonwealth, by the counsel of potent and ambitious tyrants, laboured daily to promove all mischievous tyrants to honours and dignities, to the heavy danger of the commonwealth, and dreadful terror of the king's lieges of the realm."

How foon the earl of Douglas perceived their high contempt of his authority, he caused proclaim a parliament to be holden at Stirling, where the forefaid persons were forseited and denounced rebels to the crown; and gave charge to Sir JOHN FORRESTER of Corstorphin, for to in-bring all their moveables to the king's use, which were escheated. After this all men were charged to pass forward with displayed banner, by open proclamation, to invade thir men as common traitors to the crown; -and also an army of men being gathered, they fieged the castle of Creighton in Lothian, which was rendered from hand fo foon as they faw the king's standard; and the men were letten pass bag and baggage, and the castle casten down to the ground. To revenge these injuries, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON collected a great army of his kindred and friends, and first burnt the whole lands of Corstorphin, and convoyed away the goods and gear that might be gotten : and thereafter invaded the earl of Douglas's land with fire and fword, and burnt

all the corns and corn-yards, villages and towns, whereever he came; and ficklike he did in the lands of
Abercorn, and the town of Blackness, with the castle
thereof, and carried away great preys of horse, sheep
and nolt, out of all their towns. But the earl of Douglas perceived the chancellor bolstered by his friends
to his heavy damage and skaith; amongst whom he
suspected James Kennedy bishop of St. Andrews,
sister-son to king James I. He therefore sent writings to the earl of Crawford and Alexander
OGILVY of Innerquharity, two special courtiers,
his friends, to make hership upon the bishop's lands;
and if they might apprehend himself quick, to keep
him in prison within irons, till surther advertisement.

This charge they fulfilled, and herried not only the bishop's lands, but also the whole lands adjacent thereto, and brought great preys of goods out of Fife to Angus. As for the bishop, he contained himself in fafeguard, thinking it became him not to be a fighter: But yet he thought it expedient to use his own authority upon such as invaded him, as faid is; and therefore fummoned the earl of Crawford, and led upon him a fentence of curling, for his contempt of the censures of holy kirk; which the earl lightly vilipended, as a thing of no strength, without fear of God and man. But not long after, when the earl was labouring very diligently to reconcile his fon ALEXAN-DER LINDSAY, and ALEXANDER OGILVY foresaid, to the old friendship kept betwixt their friends before, he was flain, as shall be shewn hereafter. His fon ALEXANDER LINDSAY occasioned this discord that fell betwixt them for the bailiary of Aberbrothock, which pertained to ALEXANDER LIND-SAY; but ALEXANDER OGILVY, whether it came

of his own ambition, or if it was the abbot's pleafure, it is not certain, but he usurped the bailiary to himself, and put this ALEXANDER from the fame. Wherefore being, on this way, robbed of his right, he gathered a company of his friends, and specially the Hamiltons, who affilled him for the time, and came forward with displayed banner, and arrayed battle, to Aberbrothook, to take the same again by force. ALEXANDER OGILVE alfo gathered a great company, among whom was ALEXANDER then earl of Huntley; which being flewn to the earl of Crawford, being in Dundee for the time, willing to stop all mischief that might befal his friends, he came unto them in all hafte. Scantly was he well come, when both the armies were ready to join and shock together; yet he stopped his fon ALEXANDER to make any onfet, and when he was coming in proper perfon toward ALEXANDER OGILVY's folks, to talk and intercommune friendly in all debates betwixt his fon and them, a foldier, not knowing what he was, and wherefore he came, flruck him at the mouth with a fpear, and throughout the neck, and he died incontipent, in good action, labouring to put christian men to peace and rest, and conquest a good commendation of all men, albeit he was very infolent all the rest of his lifetime. Which when his fon and friends beheld, they were fo enraged, that they fuddenly rushed upon their enemies in great ire : But they, upon the other fide, refilted the prefs, and held their adversaria manfully off for a long time, till, at the latt, the latt of Innerquharity, principal, was deadly wounded, and another great part of the most valiant men in the throat of the battle flain : They gave the backs ; and, in the fleeing, many of them were flain; amongst whom

whom was John Forbes of Pitiligo, Alexanber Barclay of Gartley, James Marwel of Telling, Duncan Campbel of Calder, Willlian Gordon of Burrowfield, all Barons, and diverse other gentlemen. And these were an hundred slain upon the other side. The earl of Huntley, being destitute of his folks on this manner, horsed himfelf, and sled away to save his life in Innerqubarity; but he was taken, and brought living to Finhaven, where he died within short time thereafter, by a stroke he had got on the side. The morn thereafter the gentleman was honourably buried in the church-yard. This battle was stricken in the year of God, one thoufand four hundred and forty sive years.

After this, there followed nothing but saughter in this realm, every party ilk one lying in wait for another, as they had been fetting tinchills for the flaughter of wild beafts. Among whom ROBERT BOYD of Duchal, captain of Dumbarton, lay in wait for JAMES STUART of Anchmynto, who was but fixteen men in train; and forthy, or ever JAMES STUART had knowledge that any man unbelet his gate, a company of armed men rushed out about him, and flew him cruelly, a little piece from Kirkpatrick; and thereafter, from hand, took his wife out of her own house, and brought her captive to Dumbarton, and by the convoy of a prieft, who fally promifed, that she would thole no fkaith. But when she perceived herself mocked in this manner, through high displeasure of her husband's slaughter, she parted with a dead bairn, and died herself the third day thereafter.

In this mean time ARCHIBALD DUMBAR sieged the castle of Hales in Lothian; and, at the first assault, he wan the same, and slew them all that he found therein JAMES DOUGLAS, in whose will he put himself and castle, without any further debate. Innumerable staughter was made this year in Anandale, where the people has ever been, and yet are given to nothing more than to slaughter.

Shortly thereafter mischief reigned so common in all parts, that many gentlemen of this realm, seeing there was no regard of the king, nor the earl of Douglas's forces, who was the principal guider of the court, contained themselves and friends within strong fortresses, and left their goods, that might not be kept within a strength, to thieves and robbers, to take them as they thought good, thinking, if they saved themselves, they had sufficient, till a better fortune.

In the next year thereafter, the king, by the earl of Douglas's counsel, sieged the castle of Edinburgh nine months all together: but at the last, Sir WIL-LIAM CREIGHTON rendered the castle upon thir conditions, " that he, and all that affifted him, should " have remissions for all offences bygone, and he " himself to be reconciled in the king's favour after " his old manner." The castle being rendered, as faid is, was reformed again of new, better than it was before. Soon thereafter a parliament was fet to be holden at Perth; in the which Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON was received again to the king's favour, and made chancellor again of new, by the confent of the whole parliament; yet he meddled not with any public affairs, expecting a better time, till he should have been purged by an affize from all kind of fuspicion concerning the king's majesty.

The same year Sir JAMES STUART, knight, who married the king's mother, was banished; because he spake sometimes rashly, that the realm was evil guid-

ed; which redounded to the defamation of the earl of Douglas. This Sir JAMES, within fhort time thereafter, was taken upon the fea by the Flemings, with fome earls both of Scotland and England, and led captive to Flanders, where he died within short time thereafter; and also his wife, king JAMES II. his mother, died shortly after him, hearing of her hufband's decease; and was buried in the charter-house of St. Johnstoun, beside her first husband king JAMES I, to whom she bore eight bairns. which there were but two fons, King JAMES II. now king, the other called ALEXANDER, who died an infant; and fix daughters. The first, called MARGA-RET, was married upon the dauphin of France, called LEWIS XI, fon to CHARLES VII. The fecond, dame ELENORA, married upon the duke of Bretaign. The third upon the lord of Campvere, and The fourth thereafter upon upon the duke of Austria, and thereafter upon

The fifth upon the

earl of Huntley, called GEORGE, upon whom he begat a daughter, who was married upon the earl of Arrol, and then parted with her by the king her brother's consent; and thereafter the earl GEORGE married the earl of Arrol's daughter, of whom came earl ALEXANDER, earl ADAM of Sutherland, with diverse others. The fixth married upon the earl of Mortoun. The queen bore to Sir James Stuart three sons; John, who was the earl of Athole, James of Buchan, called Hearty James; the third Andrew bishop of Murray.

Short while hereafter Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON chancellor, by the convoy of CHARLES VII. king of France, was fent to spouse MARGARET the duke of Guelder's daughter, to be brought home to wife to

king James II. The gentlewoman was granted very gladly, and honourably conveyed by the lord of Campvere, marquis of Berg, earl of Nassau, the bishop of Cambray, and the bishop of Luig; attour there came a prince out of Ravenstein, with divers other noble knights and fquires. The marriage being folemnized, there was a parliament holden at Edinburgh; at the which, by the counsel of some ambitious flatterers, Sir ALEXANDR LIVINGS TON of Callendar, fometime governor, ALEXANDER his eldest Son, ROBERT LIVINGSTON treasurer, and DAVID LIVINGSTON, both descended of the house of Callendar, JAMES DUNDAS, and ROBERT BRUCE of Clackmanan, knights, were taken, notwithstanding that they were reconciled with the king's majefty, and had to diverse places, and casten in prison. Albeit the nobility and lords of parliament requested the king to relax them; yet the high hatred, that the courtiers had conceived against them, so prevailed over all fupplication, law or reason, that they were kept close in irons till the seventh day of December; and, on the eighth day brought to Edinburgh, where ALE. XANDER LIVINGS TON, fometime governor, JAMES DUNDAS and ROBERT BRUCE, paid great fums of money, and thereafter were warded in Dumbarton, and the rest were headed. It is said, that this A L.F. XANDER, when he was upon the feaffold, turned him to the people, and made a fingular good oration, " declaring the mutability and unstableness of fortune, " exhorting all gentlemen and nobles of this realm to " take an example by him, of the fragil felicity of " this world. At sometime his father was chosen go. " vernor of this realm, and where he himfelf bore " fome charges to prosperously, and with to great " acommendation of all men, that his father loved him " above of

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above all treasures; yet, thro'change of the court, his father, himfelf and friends, were to thursty purfued that they were forced to ftrengths for the defence of their lives, and preferving themselves to better fortune ; till, at the last, their innocency was tried, they were in a manner reftored to the king's favours, which endured not long : For, fort while after, by flattering courtiers, they were warded again. Now his father warded, himfelf adjudged, not by neutral men of fincere and good confeience, but by his deadly enemies, to underly a shameful death, as he had been a traitor: And therefore defired all noblemen not to defire great offices in the court, albeit they appeared both honourable and commodious : of for they that are promoted to the highest places, " when they flide, they get the greatest fall. And, " when they are put down, if they be loved on the " one part, by good men, for their worthy behaviour. " they shall be reproached, on the other part, by the " wicked and ungodly men." Thir words being faid. he fell upon his knees, and stretched forth his craig to the fword. A lamentable fight to behold! and was beheaded, to the great displeasure of all the people.

In the year following the queen parted with a bairn, but no man knew by what reason; the bairn was born quick, and deceased within short space thereafter. In the same year the royal walls of Dunsermline being casten down, there was a body of a young child found in a cape of lead, wompled up in sandal, as fresh, incorrupted, and of as vive colour as the first hour it was buried. It was judged by them that were curious of old antiquities, to be a son of queen MARGARET, who deceased in his insancy.

Attour, the peace and truce taken with England expired the same year; and therefore the Scots made diverse incursions and roads in England, wasting all

with fire and fword wherever they came. The earl of Shrewsbury, lieutenant and warden for the time upon the English border, to revenge thir injuries again, invaded Scotland upon the west borders, on the one part, and burnt Dumfries, with diverse other towns, and returned home again with good prey of goods and bestial. And also the earl of Northumberland, on the other part, came upon the east borders, and burnt and herried Dumbar in the fame year. Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, brother to the earl of Douglas, not willing to be in an English-man's commoun for an evil turn, gathered a company of chosen men, and burnt the town of Anwick; out of the which he gathered a great prey, both of men and goods, ere he returned in Scotland. But the prisoners of both the realms were interchanged, and rendred again, man for man, on both sides. Such hership was made at this time, on every side, that both the realms were constrained to take peace for feven years to come.

In the mean time, when fuch things were in doing, the earl of Douglas, having the whole guiding of the court, laboured daily to promove his friends to honour and dignity; and obtained from the king the ward and marriage of ANNES DUNBAR, youngest daughter to JAMES last earl of Murray of that firname, to ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS his brother; and fo made him earl of Murray. This JAMES deceased without any heirs male of his body; and so the lands came to the female by donation of the king. This WILLIAM earl of Douglas, not content of this augmentation to his house, promoved JOHN his brother to the lordship of Balveny, and GEORGE DOUGLAS to the earldom of Ormond, in parliament; who were also chosen and declared principal counsellors of the realm. But fundry fuspected, that this sudden access to that felicity stould have a short decay; for since they saw the earl of Douglas so covetous, given to make up his friends, and so immediately to promove them to lands and lordships, for the strengthening of his own house, wherethrough they should make a bar to the king's felf, if there chanced any walter of court; and thereupon every man judged that sudden and prosperous success should have a short end.

But now, fince it hath chanced us to speak of the translation of the house of Murray from the Dunbars to the Douglasses, I think it expedient to speak of the diversity of sirnames that have joysed the same with great laud and praise, since king ROBERT I. even unto this present time, who bare themselves right

wifely and manfully both in peace and war.

In old times ROBERT THE BRUCE gave the earldom of Murray to his own fifter's fon. Sir THO-MAS RANDAL of Stradown, knight, chief of the clan Allan; whose works can testify his life in the fourteen book, rehearfed before in this same history; and failing of him, and heirs of his body, that it should return again to the crown. This THOMAS had two fons, but I cannot tell who was their mother. The eldest called THOMAS, who succeeded to his father's place; the other called JOHN; who, without any fuccession of their bodies, were both slain at the battle of Duplin in Strathern, fighting manfully to the death. for the defence of this realm, invaded by the Englishmen, our old enemies. He also had two daughters; of whom the eldeft was called Black ANNES, by reason the was black-skinned. This ANNES was a woman of greater spirit than it became a woman to be, who was married upon PATRICK earl of March. The fecond was called GEILES, and was married upon JOHN brother to the earl of March; and bore to him GEORGE.

GEORGE, who forceeded to his father-brother heritably in the earldom of March; and another fon called John, a man of fingular virtue and beauty. This TOHN, for his virtue and manhood, was married upon king ROBERT II. his daughter, and promoved to be earl of Murray; for it is returned in again to the king's house, by reason that it failed in the heirs male of RANDAL. And this was the first Dunbar that bruiked the lands of Murray, who begat THOMAS DUNBAR who fucceeded to his father; and another named ALEXANDER DUNBAR, who married MAULD FRASER, fucceeded in his place. This was the fixth earl of Murray, who was also laird of Frendracht. This JAMES begat upon ISOBEL INNES, daughter to the laird of Innes, ALEXAN-DER DUNBAR, a man of fingular wit and courage. This I sobe L was but hand-fast with him, and deceased before the marriage; wherethrough this A-LEXANDER he was worthy of a greater living than he might fucceed to by the laws and practices of this realm. After this IsoBEL's decease, this JAMES earl of Murray matried KATHARINE, lawful daughter to ALEXANDER SETON, as is supposed, the first earl of Huntley called Gordon, who bore to him two daughters. The first was married upon Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, heir to the faid lord Creighton forefaid, and got with her the land of Frendracht in tocher. The youngest was married upon ARCHIBALD earl of Douglas's brother, who was promoved to the earldom of Murray, as faid is : But this ARCHIBALD being convicted and forfeited for lese-majesty, the earldom returned to the king's hands again.

But let us return to our purpose and history. This WILLIAM earl of Douglas being insolent through

the promotion of friends, began to maintain fo many as were plain flatterers, and allowed his doings, or were ready at his command, to execute fuch mischief as was his pleasure. He promoved them, yea, many of them from base estate, to great riches and dignity above their degrees; but whatfomever he was fo hardy as to reproach his doings, (for it gainflood some mens conscience) how soon it came to his ears, he caused them to be adjudged to underly the law; where he, being judge and party, spoiled them sakelesly of their lives. And, by the contrary, fo many as depended upon him, albeit they had been never fo guilty, they were overseen, or else he got them free respites and remissions for all offences; wherethrough they been boldened up by fuch licentious prerogatives above others, they put no difference betwixt wrong and right. Oppression, ravishing of women, thest, sacrilege, and all other kinds of mischief, were but a dalliance: So that it was thought leifom to a depender on a Douglas to flay or murder; for fo fearful was their name, and terrible to every innocent man, that, when a mischievous limmer was apprehended, if he alleged that he murdered and flew at a Douglas's command, no man durst present him to justice.

Through this unequal punishment of innocents, and great favour that he bore to tyrants and malefactors, every man began to hate his cruelty; for he regarded nothing the love nor favour of the people; but he gloried to be dreaded of all. To thief and reaver he was a sicker targe; and, by the contrary, a plain enemy to good men; thinking that it was a great pleasure to spoil them of their lives, and whom ever he savoured not, without all equity and law. Also he spoiled all kirks and chapels wherever he came, and converted the jewels thereof to his profane use and profit. So all

good men behoved to keep filence, and durst not cry out upon his tyranny.

At this time JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, a man of singular virtue and prudence, held birnself very quiet, waiting upon a better fortune, thinking that this great cruelty that was exercised should have a sudden end.

This time fell a horrible cafe to JOHN CAMERON bishop of Glasgow, principal ruler of the prince and court to all mischief, and innocent slaughter done in thir troublous times. A marvellous example to all mortal men to withdraw themselves from all wicked counfel, abuse, and wicked tyranny: For he counfelled them to exercise all such scatthing and oppresfion upon the realm, as he had done himfelf upon the poor tenants of Glafgow. So that when the divine power of God had permitted him to over-run and fcourge the people, on this ways, for a certain space, he thought to put an end to his wicked tyranny : At the laft, on Yule-Even, when he was sleeping, there came a thunder and voice out of heaven, crying, and fummoning him to the extreme judgment of " God, where he fhould give an account and reckon-" ing of all his cruel offences, without further delay." Through this he wakened forth of his fleep, and took fear of the novelty of fuch things, unknown to him before : But yet he believed this to be no other but a dream, and no true warning for amendment of his curfed life; yet be called for his chamber-chiels, and caused them to light candles, and to remain a while belide him, till he recovered the fear and dreadour that he had taken in his fleep and dreaming : But by he had taken a book, and read a little while, the fame woice and words were heard with no less fear and dreadour than was before; which made them that were

were present at that time about him, to be in dread; so that none of them had a word to speak to another, thinking no less than sudden mischief hastily to befalt them all; and, from hand, the third time, the same words were more ugsomely cried than before. This bishop rendered his spirit hastily, at the pleasure of God, and shot out his tongue most wildly, as he had been hanged upon a gallows. A terrible sight to all cruel oppressors and murderers of the poor. But, alas! the wicked ingyne of man, boldened up with all conceived malice, dreads never the terrible judgment of God; nor yet the good and godly man never ceaseth to embrace his infinite grace and mercy. But to our bistory.

Albeit the realm of Scotland was troubled and afflicted on this manner; yet the realm of England stood in no better case than their neighbours did; for HENRY VI. a bairn of fix years of age, being crowned king of England and France, there fell a discord between the Burgunds and Englishmen (both oppresfing France with fire and fword) for the flaughter of the earl of Salisbury, who was flain by flot of a gun, uncertain how or what way. This flaughter was very profitable for the Frenchmen, who were governed and ruled in wars by a woman of excellent spirit, called The Maiden of France; for they thereby began to be of better courage, and to recover many of their lands. which the Englishmen had reft from them before; and not only triumphed they against the Englishmen, but also became victorious of whatsomever people or nation with whom they had debate or quarrel. But the Englishmen thinking to augment their strength by a new alliance and affinity, married this young king HENRY VI. upon the duke of Lorrain's daughter, and lightlied the honourable marriage with the duke

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of Orleans's daughter, who was promifed in marriage to him oft before; fo, in contracting of new friendthip, they loft the old. Whereat the duke of Orleans took fuch hatred and indignation, that, with many nobles, his friends and familiars, he left the Englishmen, and gave over the band betwixt them. And thereafter, from hand, as the unfortunate chance of worldly affairs befals, that mischief ever follows upon mischief, there rose a marvellous sedition in England, and discord among themselves: For many noblemen, envying the empire and governance of the duke of Glocester, who was chosen protector of England during the minority of the king, gathered to a convention. where they took him, and put him in prison for that night; and upon the morrow, brought him out and hanged him shamefully upon a gallows, as he had been a thief.

The principal movers of this sedition were, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Beaumont, and the constable of England. But how soon this vile act was divulged through the realm, Glocester's kindred and friends gathered, and invaded all parts with fire and sword; wherefore the earls of Bedford, Somerset and Shrewsbury, who were appointed for the desence of Normandy, and to gainstand their enemies in France, being destitute of their kindred and friends, that were both in England and France, were compelled to withdraw them homeward; and so they lost Roan, with many other good towns in Normandy.

How foon thir novels were spread in England, the commons of England, with no less mischief than the rest, chose themselves an Irishman, called Henry, to be a chistain; and then came forward, purposing to come to London, boasting right highly to be revenged upon the nobles of the realm.

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The king, being some part dejected in so great a variance, gathered an army of all kind of people through other, without any order, and fent them forth to repress the proudness of the commons. whom the commons rushed so fiercely, that they van-Thereafter paffed quished them with small difficulty. to London, where they defired some special courtiers to be rendered in their hands: and specially the lord Grey treasurer, the bishop of Salisbury, and the lord Dudley; fo thir men were given to them to dispone at their pleafure, thinking, that through the facrifice of thir mens lives, all the rest might eschew the present danger. But thir commons ireful cruelty, in a manner, was sufficed with the slaughter of the lord Grey; and thereafter they warded the rest in strong holds and for-But how foon the lord Grey was execute, they began to spoil the town, and slew all the citizens, without ruth or pity, that made any defence for their gear.

This, and fuch like other cruelties, made the governors of England very folist and feared, thinking, that if they put no remeid hastily to thir labourers, the commons fhould over-run them, as they had done the rest. After long consultation, they caused the chancellor write to the commons and their captain, praying them to skale their army; which, if they stenched their uproars, they promifed them free remission of all offences bypast; and also to promove their captain HENRY to great honour and dignity. The people was foon allured by thir fair pleafant words, who when their high fury overpast them, they defired to be at home, willing to red themselves of such cummers and enormities as they had entred in before. So HEN-RY their captain being left by them, for whose cause he attempted so high oppression and mischies, was taken and beheaded for his temerarious enterprises; and his taker got a thousand pounds sterling for his reward.

Then the nobles, feeing that fo long peace had bred fo great riches among the commons, wherethrough they became so proud, that they perturbed the country in this manner, after long confultation, they thought nothing better to break them with, than some foreign wars; wherefore they began to cause Northumberland and Cumberland to provoke wars. It hath been the use, ever fince this isle of Britain was inhabited, either by Scottish or English-men, that whenever they had wars with their enemies, they could never be so easily drawn from civil discord; and, by the contrary, being at diffention among themselves. they were compelled to defift therefrom by moving of foreign wars. So the Englishmen, as said is, invaded the borders both with fire and fword, and carried away great preys both of men and goods; and fo many Scottish-men, as made descrice to resist the invasion and herryship, were all slain cruelly.

The Scottish-men knowing well the intention of the English-men, and by what counsel the truce betwixt them was broken, and also the oceasion wherethrough the wars began; to revenge the great injuries done to them, they gathered a great band and company of men, and invaded England in this same manner, burning and slaying where they came, and returned home with great preys of men and goods. So the countries being invaded on this manner, on either side, and daily troubled with flaughter and herryship, as said is, the lands of Cumberland were all utterly wasted and destroyed. So the Scottish-men invaded that country with greatest cruelty, by reason they were the first provokers of the wars.

But how foon this was shown to the nobles of England, they collected an army of men, to the number of forty thousand men, and fent them to invade Scotland with greater expedition than was believed. The chiftains and lieutenants of this army, were the earl of Northumberland, and MAGNUS REIDMAN, knight of the order, who was so well brought up in the wars of France, and therethrough had so great knowlege and experience of war, and warlike affairs, and also illuftrate with fuch manhood, that he was called by the Englishmen, the father of chivalry; who was named by the Scots, Man with the red Main. It is faid, that this man had fuch hatred at Scottish-men, that he defired, in great anger and wrath, fo much Scottish ground from king HENRY as he might conquess in Scotland, by the flaughter of the inhabitants thereof, and expelling of them, which was granted to him.

In this mean time the Scottish-men were very diligent to prepare all things that were necessary for their relief: to whom GEORGE DOUGLAS earl of Ormond was made lieutenant; who got knowlege by the explorators, that the Englishmen were coming in Anandale, and had transported their army over the water of Solway, and had stented their pavilions upon the water of Sark. After that they were camped on this ways, upon the morn after, they paffed through the country, and herried and flew wherever they came: But knowing that the Scottish armies wereapproaching fo near, they took great fear, and caused them all that were burning and flaying, as faid is, to-retire, by found of trumpet, to the camps again, where they put themfelves in arrayed battle. In the van-guard MAGNUS REIDMAN was placed. In the rear-guard, were all the Welfhmen placed, to whom JOHN PENNEYTON was made chiftain; a man of good report and spirit in warlike C4

warlike affairs. And the earl of Northumberland was in the middleward, with the rest of the multitude of men of war.

Upon the other fide, our Scottish-men placed themfelves very craftily: For GEORGE earl of Ormond was in the steill himself; and the laird of Craigie-Wallace, a noble knight of fovereign manhood, was upon the right wing; the lord Maxwel and the laird of Johnstoun on the left wing, with a chosen company of their friends, and many other valiant gentlemen and yeomen of this realm. So, by thir armies were arrayed, the earl of Ormond faid to his folks on this manner. " I request you, most valiant champions, " affectuously to remember, that it was not for no " wrongous quarrel that we have affembled ourselves " this day at armour, but rather for our own defence, " and fecurity of our lives from the injuries of our enemies, and their tyranny, who, at this present do invade without any cause or provocation made " by us. Every one of you understands fuffici-" ently, that they have done the same oft before, " which at the last hath redounded to their high dis-" pleasure and disadvantage. For we have experience, " when we have been most unjustly invaded by them, " that the infinite favour of God, which hath been " ever ready to the just, has caused the victory to in-" cline to us by expectation of man's ingyne. And ye " may be affured, that the victory stands not in mul-" titude of men, but in fingular courage, directed " with a just quarrel, and God's providence. Think " nothing but victory, if that your will and purpose be " to deliver your country, wives, and bairns, from the " tyranny of your enemies."

Thir words being faid, the trumpets founded to join the armies; But, at the beginning, there came fuch

fuch a shower of darts and arrows upon the Scottish van-guard, that, through fudden fear, they took purpose to flee. Then Craigie-Wallace, their captain, began to reproach them for their feeblenefs, faying, " that it is not the duty of valiant champions to fear at the fight of their enemies, and to deject their " courage before they come to strokes. I exhort you " therefore to rush forward upon your enemies with a " manly countenance. If ye persevere but a little " space, think no other but the victory shall be in " your hands, feeing your action is good, for the de-" fence of your liberty and of your country: " low me therefore, and ye shall see how happy it is " to put our lives in peril for the refilting of our one-" mies, and delivering of ourfelves from tyranny and " bondage."

By thir words were faid, his men were fo enraged, and rushed so furiously upon the English van-guard, with exes, spears and halberts, and made so great flaughter at the first coming, that they put the Englishmen clean a-back from their standard, and compelled them, at the laft, to take the flight. MAGNUS REID-MAN was nothing affeared of this difadvantage, but rather boldened and kindled up with greater ire than became a wife chiftain, preffed forward, with a company of chosen men that were his principal fervants and guard, upon Craigie-Wallace, thinking to overfet him : But his enterprize was in vain; for the Scottish men invironed round about him fo keenly, that, with small difficulty, they flew him cruelly, and all his guard. The rest of the English-men had no better fortune. When the clamour rose among the Scottish-men, that MAGNUS REIDMAN was flain, the English chiftain, in whom all Englishmen put their whole hope and. confidence of their welfare and felicity; there came

fuch dreadour and fear upon them, that they might no longer fustain the press of the Scottish-men; but gave backs: Upon whom our men followed very sharply. Many were flain at the thick of the battle, but many more on the flight. For the water, being swollen up with the filling of the fea, caused many to lose their lives. Others feeing this, and doubting whether they should fight and die with honour, or flee with shame, were cruelly flain upon the water-banks. This battle was foughten with great cruelty. There were flain in it three thousand English, and the governor in the vanguard, and eleven other noblemen, knights of the order : and of the Scottish-men more than fix hundred. There were taken in this battle, JOHN PENNEYTON and ROBERT HARRINGTON, two noble English knights; and also the earl of Northumberland's son (by whose convoy his father was horsed, and escaped his enemies) was taken, and a great number of others, and were brought captives in Scotland. There was fuch abundance of riches, filver and gold, gotten in this field, that never was the like feen in no man's time before. The spoilzy was parted among the Scottish-men, after the rate of arms. Craigie-Wallace was deadly wounded in the field, and died the third month thereafter.

The earl of Ormond, after this victory, returned home with great triumph, and imprisoned the principal captains in Lochmabane. After this he was treated and banquetted by the king's majesty with great magnificence. It is said, during the time of the banquet, the king made a harangue to him, and WILLIAM earl of Douglas, his brother, saying, "Now my lords, I beseech your lordships to remember how happily all things have succeeded to you, and what honour cometh through wife and sage counsel, by the

" the high felicity and renown that chance to all fub-" jects, when they are ruled gladly under the obedi-" ence of one king or prince; and, by the contrary, " what mischief befals them that run over head to any " purpose, without regard or forelight to God or man. " It becometh all favourers of commonwealths to con-" quess all men that are neighbours to be their friends, " and to shew themselves, with all their strength, " strong enemies, when they are urged to battle with " their foes : For, in fo doing, the prince has plea-" fure to rule and govern, and the fubjects live in " peace, and rest free from the injuries of their ene-" mies, and tyranny of oppressors. It is known, that " the condition and fashion of all the Douglasses, since " the beginning, hath been in this ways, and yet is, " and, as I suppone, to be in time coming. Without " doubt there is nothing fo dear and pleasant to me as " noblemen of the blood of Douglas, whilk I favour above all things, intirely with my heart; fo that ye " would show yourselves no worse minded in the cor-" rection of thieves and murderers, than ye have " proven valiant, both first and last, for the defence " and welfare of this realm : For if thieves and mur-" derers be not punished, the poor ones and the commons can have no life, who are the very uphold of " the nobles, and who perchance are your ownkind-" red and blood; albeit, through base estates, they be " degenerate; and, being christians, are participant of " the favour of God, and obedience of the same prince " to whom ye are : Therefore I exhort you to pro-" ceed in the renown and fame which ye and your " forebeers have conquest in times past.

When the king had faid this, the faid earls thanked his majesty with great reverence, promising to persevere in all things as he had commanded, and never to thole theft, reif, nor flaughter unpunished, in time to come; nor yet any kind of injuries nor offences, committed against rich or poor, to let the same pass unrevenged. So thir noblemen took their leave, and passed home to their wives and bairns, convoyed with their kindred and friends, with great triumph, mirth and gladness. After this the lords of Scotland stood a long time in greater quietness than was before.

But when the word of this forrowful battle came to London, it made all the nobles and people of the country wondrous afraid; yet, that they should not feem to be altogether dejected of their wonted courage, they decreed in parliament, to revenge this great flaughter made lately in the battle of Sark. But when they gathered an army to fend in Scotland, well furnished with victual, and all kind of munition and vivers, there arose suddenly a vile dissension and discord among themselves, whereof the like was never heard nor feen before. The duke of York, the earls of March, Warwick and Salisbury, with many other great nobles of the realm, conspired against this HEN-BY VI. Wherefore they diffembled their ire with the Scottish-men to a more convenient time. And look, how bufy they were to vex us with battle, being at quietness and rest; so they were as careful to procure our peace, being troubled with wars amongst themfelves; and fent an ambassador to intreat peace with the king of Scotland, who, by the advice of the nobles. granted the same for three years; thinking it was not convenient to refuse it, seeing the English attemptions were punished in their hand in the last battle.

In this same year, Sir RICHARD COLVIL, knight, set upon JAMES AUCHINLECK, a near friend to the earl of Douglas, and slew him, with diverse of his friends; because he had sustained sundry injuries

and wrongs of this JAMES, and had never made redress thereof, notwithstanding that the faid RICHARD had required him fundry and diverse times to the fame effect. But the earl of Douglas took such high indignation at the flaughter of his friends, that he made the folemned oath, never to cease till he was revenged thereof; and fo he gathered a company of men, and first herried all the lands pertaining to the said Colvil, and thereafter fieged the faid caltle where he was, whilk foon was won; and the faid RICHARD, and all them that were therein, flain, and the house spoiled. There were many in the country that commended the earl of Douglas's enterprize, for the revenging of his friend's quarrel, if he had been fo diligent in pursuing of murderers, thieves and revers, that injured and oppressed the poor commons without ruth or pity. But many had good expectation, that this tyranny should fometime have an end, that vexed them all times fo cruelly. At the laft the earl being so enriched, both through his own great rents, and buddes conquelt in the court, and also through the great extortion of the poor people, and by the great importance that befel him through the overfeeing of the thieves and murderers, he took purpose to visit other countries to advance his greatness; in so far he thought no man could be worthy, within this realm, to behold his vain prodigality. So JOHN DOUGLAS lord Balveny, a man most to his conditions of any creature, being constitute procurator and overfeer of all affairs belonging to him in Scotland, in his absence; and also all necesfary things being prepared according to his estate. took voyage towards Flanders, being accompanied with his brother Mr. JAMES DOUGLAS, a man of fingular erudition, and well befeen in divine letters, brought

absence.

brought up long time in Paris at the schools, and looked for the bishoprick of Dunkeld, and thereafter for the earldom of Douglas : For this earl, being fo long married, having no bairns, was desperate to have procreate or gotten any children in times coming. There were in the company many other knights and nobles, among whom were the knights and lords of Hamilton, Graham, Saltoun, Seaton and Oliphant, men of great fame and estimation. There were others of meaner estate, fuch as Calder, Urquhart, Campbel, Forrester, Lawder, all knights and gentlemen. Whose convoy made this earl fo proud and infelent, that he represented a king's magnificence wherever he came. Out of Flanders he passed in France; and out of France to Italy, and fo forward to Rome : Romans having knowlege of his coming, met him with a honourable company, and reseived him very princely within the town.

But, within two months after his departure, some of the nobles envying the earl of Douglas's promotion with great rents and dominions, and others oppressed by his tyranny, began to delate his prideful ambition and disdaining of the people, and high offences sustained by every man, in time of his great credit at court: But many, seeing place given to men that would plainzie; began, day by day, more and more to complain upon his tyranny; but the king, as it became a wife prince, gave no sudden credit in this earl's

Yet, notwithstanding, the king thought it expedient to send a herald to summon JOHN Lord Balveny, procurator to the earl of Douglas, as said is, to answer to such complaints as were given in upon himfelf, his chief kindred and friends: But, seeing he was something.

fomething stubborn to obey the command and charge given to him, the king's majefty commanded a company of men of war to bring him in against his will. At which time fome perfuaded the king to handle him rigorously, fince he had once begun; otherwife every villain should contemn the king's acts, they feeing no hasty punishment for disobedience. But the king, nothing moved with thir fayings, thought not best to punish fuch things in his anger. but rather to repair all things gently, lest that, if he would have been rigorous, there should come greater inconveniencies and calamities upon the commonwealth; and so caused accuse him, and speir at him. "What excuse he had to repel such points of dittay." " and injuries as were laid to the earl of Douglas's " charge, and others of his counfel and dependence." Which points, when he could not goodly colour them, he put himself in the king's will; who charged him to restore every one his own after, as he might get time and opportunity: Yet, fo foon as he eschewed on this ways, and was free of the king's hands, he kept never a word that he promised, for the repairing of fuch offences, as he was commanded, following the counsel of the earls of Ormond and Murray; who, albeit they durst not openly, yet they suborned him quietly to disobedience; and, as other wicked flatterers, to whom civil diffension was ever pleasant, for by it they thought they had a voluptuous life; and, on the contrary, nothing was fo odious to them as peace and reft.

The king, hearing of this pridefulness, caused the earl of Orkney, chancellor for the time, to pass in Galloway and Clydesdale, and gather up all the rents in these parts to the king's profits, and to make collectors

tors to that effect; attour to give every man command, in these countries, to resound the injuries and skaiths done by them before, and to eschew from all offending of their neighbours in time coming. But when the earl of Orkney passed to Douglassdale and Galloway to the effect foresaid, accompanied with a small number of solks, not only was he disobeyed in his charges, but also mocked and injured by the earl of

Douglas's friends and familiars.

The king, being provoked by this to high anger and wrath, caused summon, by a herald, all men whatsoever, of high or low degree, pertaining or favouring a Douglas, to underly the law, and to declare the difobevers the king's rebels? whose tyranny he thought to reprefs with fire and fword: So the king, accompanied with an army, past to Galloway; at whose coming the thieves and murderers fled to strong holds and strengths for fasety of their lives : But the king fent a great part of his army to pursue them, who were repulsed very contumeliously. At the which the king took fuch great anger, that he fieged all the fortreffes and castles; amongst whom he wan the castle of Lochmabane and Douglas; and because the castle of Douglas was fo difficile to win, he caused cast down the fame to the ground; but Lochmabane was garnished with men of war, and not casten down, because it was hastily rendered. And albeit he took fundry in his favour after they were rendered in his will, yet he dealt their lands, goods and gear, to their creditors and complainers, till they were fatisfied of the things taken from them, whereof the misdoers were convicted.

The king, notwithstanding of this rebellion and disobedience, was not more cruel in the punishing thereof, than he was at the beginning. At last, when this

was shewn to the earl of Douglas, being at Rome, it made him to be afraid, and thereafter took purpose, with all diligence to come home to Scotland; but far from the magnificence he paffed away with : For how foon this word came to their ears, they parted fundry ways, some came through Flanders, and some through France. The earl got fafe conduct to pass through England: But when he was marching near the Scottish borders, he sent Mr. JAMES his brother besore him to the king's majesty, to know the king's mind towards him. The king feeing this young gentleman fo obedient, entreating his brother's peace, received him very homely, faying, " He defired nothing more " of the earl of Douglas in time coming, but that he " would punish murderers, thieves and robbers, in " these parts where he bore authority and rule, name-" ly in Anandale.

The earl of Douglas, after this, came home himfelf, and was received right heartfully by the king, and was remitted of all things bygone: Wherefore he promifed faithfully to rule all things within his bounds at the king's command and pleasure; and then he received all fortalices and strengths again out of the hands of the king's men of war; and thereafter was holden in fuch great estimation and favour by the king, that he was made lieutenant-general of the realm: But he stood not long in this credit; for fragil fortune changeth the conceits of men in fuch manner, that they stand but short while at one purpose. So shortly after he passed to speak with the king of England, without knowlege of the king of Scotland, his own prince, as he alleged, for the reparation of fundry skaiths and damages, sustained by the frequent incursions of the English-men before. But the king

of Scotland was greatly commoved through his passage into England; not only he himself lightlied by the earl of Douglas, but also he thought some quiet draught to be drawn betwixt the earl of Douglas and the king of England, to his great dishonour and offence.

This earl foresaid being in England, and understanding the king of Scotland, his master, to know of all his quiet doings, took purpofe, and came right humbly to the king's grace, feeking pardon for his fault, promifing folemnly never to commit fo great an offence in time coming; for whom the queen and nobles made great request to forgive him. The king, being moved by their defire, received him again in favour, as he was before; but deprived him of all his offices, and discharged him of any administration thereof; and therefore placed the earl of Orkney and Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON in the offices, who were at all times true, faithful and obedient fubjects. The earl of Douglas was fo highly offended herewith, that he hated all the king's counsellors as his deadly enemies; and specially Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, for old fead betwixt them. Attour, some flattering courtiers feigned to the earl of Douglas, that they heard Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, when he was talking among his friends, faying, " I vow openly, that the king did not his office like a true and faith-" ful prince, not only that he tholed the earl of Dou-" glas to escape with his life unpunished, but also re-" conciled fuch an unhappy man to his favour so oft " again, who did deserve a thousand deaths for his " wicked tyranny." And faid moreover, " That it " had been good for the commonwealth of Scotland, " that the earl of Douglas, with his whole kindred " and

and friends, had been rooted out, and their memory clean stamped away; otherwise, if this be not done, so long as he or any of them lives, he was assured, that neither the king shall reign long in peace and rest above this realm; nor yet the subjects obey to his acts, as becomes a commonwealth guided with laws and justice."

The earl of Douglas, hearing this, gave overfoon credit to wicked false reports of an idle lown, that had no other shift to conquess his living with, except vain trattils, to fow discord among noblemen: But yet he suppressed his ireful mind, and counselled with his friends, how and what way he should destroy Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON: For if he were cut off and flain, he thought it but little difficulty to obtain the king's favour, with all the offices that he had before. So, through the vain words of this unhappy. flatterer, there kindled a fire that was not able to be flockened in no man's time living in their days. At hast the earl of Douglas being advertised, by some spies. that Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON had fet a day to: come to Edinburgh, thought to put his unhappy purpose. to execution : And to that effect, he suborned some bloody tyrants to lie in wait in a quiet place, nearhand by his gate, awatching for his flaughter. Upon the morn, early in the morning, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON knowing no fuch thing of this watching for his destruction, chanced near by this same place where the butchers lay; who brake about him with fuch a reird and clamour; that he, knowing no fuch thing, was all utterly abased and afraid: But, being admonished by his fon, a young valiant man, with some others his friends, to remember upon hisold wonted courage, and not to take fear, feeing it was force either to fight or flee; and as the proverb is, " Fortune

" Fortune helps the the hardy, but no remeid can be " found for feebleness;" he defended so valiantly, till one of thir brigands was flain, and another deadly wounded; and, at the last, feeing he might not make his party good, he took the flight with his fellows towards the castle of Creighton, for fafety of their lives; and fo escaped the danger. But that was not long unrecompensed; for he gathered a great company of his friends and affifters, and came forward toward Edinburgh to be revenged upon the earl of Douglas, deviser of the foresaid ruffle, who was remaining there with a small multitude accompanied, without any fuspicion of Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON'S gathering: And therefore it was force to him to leave the town, and flee to fave himfelf, or elfe, without doubt, to be in peril of his life, with all them that were in his company.

Thir mutual injuries and despiteful conceits, moved on every side, exasperated both the parties in others ire and hatred, that the one of them appeared suddenly to bring the other to utter destruction and ruin. Through this dissension the realm was divided

in two parts and factions.

But yet the earl of Douglas bearing very heavily that he was so shamefully put out of the town, by the deceitful gathering of his enemy; attour, fearing that the king was not forgetful of so many offences done in time bygone, and therethrough would be more favourable to Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON than to him, he thought to bind a league with such nobles as would be party; yea, and far above, if it come to the worst, both to his unfriends, and to the king himself, if he would declare himself in his contrary: And therefore sent quiet messages to his friends, and specially to the earls of Crawford, Ross and Murray, to

affift and debate against such dangers and invasions as presently appeared to fall upon him: Which being gladly granted (for all thir men hated, as one, Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON, with the rest of the courtiers that were in credit with the king, without any hope of reconciliation) there was a confederation made betwixt thir earls and their friends, with a solemn oath, that the injuries done to any of them, or the soberest of them, or their adherents, should be equal quarrel to them all, contrary whatsomever men in or sorth of this realm; and to spend, their lives, lands and gear, to the revenge of the same.

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Through this covenant the earl of Douglas grew for proud and infolent, that they boasted in all parts, wherever they came, to have the rule and guiding of the realm against all mens will, and to have their enemies sutterly exterminate. But this ambitious and vain vaunting was not pleasant in the sight of God: For vain pride and ambitiousness cometh never of God, but allenarly of the devil, who is the master of pride.

In the mean time the king began of new to hate the house of Douglas, because of their ambitiousness. Another cause there was; because some thieves of Douglassale had herried all the lands pertaining to John Herries a nobleman, and faithful subject to the king's majesty at all times; whereof when this Herries had oft and divers times complained, and sought redress thereof from the earl of Douglas, and could never get remeid, he took purpose to recompence the same wrong, because he got no justice. But this attempt succeeded very unhappily; for, in the herrying of Anandale, he was taken with his complices, and brought to the earl of Douglas, where he was casten in irons, and thereafter hanged shamefully

as he had been a thief, notwithstanding the king's commandment in the contrary, and other messages sent to that effect.

The king took very heavy with this high contempt, but suppressed it for the time. Attour, the poor people were fo overcome and burdened with importable charges, that there was no life for them; and wet, notwithstanding, they durst not plainzie nor lament their own mifery in thir troublous times; and therefore, day by day, mischief began more and more to increase. Other noblemen, that were full of fubstance, had no will of discord, but abhorred all utterly thir civil wars rifing among themselves, and lamented quietly thir dangers and calamities, which lay not within their power to quench. This mischief daily increased so much, that all men took suspicion, that thir carls of Douglas, Crawford, Murray and Rols, with their affifters, which was the greatest part of the realm, should hastily depose the king out of his authority: Which fuspicion being shewn to the king, he took great fear thereof; for he knew well, that their faction was as potent (if they were not more potent) than himfelf.

At this mean time the earl of Douglas cast himself for to be stark against the king; and therefore sought and persuaded all men, under his opinion and servitude, and in special the gentlemen of Galloway, with Kyle, Carrick and Cuningham, and all other parts that were near adjacent unto him, desiring them daily to ride and go with him, as his own houshold-men and servants, and to assist him in all things whatsomever he had ado, whether it was right or wrong, with the king, or against him. But some other wise men seeing the danger appearing of the earl of Douglas's proceedings contrary the king and his authority, there-

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fore would not affift him, nor take part with him, nor ride nor gang with him, nor be his man. Among the rest of thir there was one called Madellan, who was Tutor of Bomby for the time, and fifter's fon to Sir PATRICK GRAY, who was malter of Gray, and principal fervitor to the king, and captain of his guard. This Maclellan, for love he bore to the king's grace, and to the ministration of justice, would, on no ways. ferve and ride with the earl of Douglas, contrary the king and his authority, nor yet to oppress the commonwealth of the country, but kept him quietly within his bounds, doing no man wrong. The earl of Douglas feeing this, that this man would not ferve him as he defired, came hastily unto his house with a great number of men, and fieged it, and wan it, and took him out of the same, and had him to the caffle of Douglas, and cast him there in strait prison. His friends, feeing this, paffed to the court to Sir PAT-RICK GRAY, to shew him the manner thereof, how it stood with his fister's fon. The which when Sir PATRICE GRAY heard the novels, he was heavily displeased at the matter, and passed hastily to the king. and shewed him the manner how it stood with his fifter's fon, defiring the king's grace for to deliver him his fifter's fon, which the earl of Douglas had in captivity and prison for the time. The king granted very thankfully the fame, and caused write a sweet letter of supplication to the earl of Douglas, for to deliver the enter of Bomby to Sir PATRICE GRAY, his came.

This writing being subscribed and signeted with the king's signet, thereafter delivered to Sir PATRICK GRAY, to use the same as he thought cause; who passed hastily, with the said writing and supplication of the king, to the earl of Douglas, who was then in the castle of Douglas, for the time, sitting at his dinner;

dinner; and hearing told that Sir PATRICK GRAY, the king's familiar fervant, was lighted at the gate, the earl marvelled much at the matter, what that should mean, and caused incontinent draw the boards, and rose and met the said Sir PATRICK with great reverence and humility, because he was the king's principal captain, and secret servant and familiar to his grace; therefore the earl received him with more thanks: But all was under colour and deceit: for the earl had no savour to the king, nor to any of his familiars; yet he enquired at the said PATRICK, if he had dined. Who answered, he had not. Then the earl of Douglas said, there was no talk to be had betwist a sull man and a fasting; therefore you shall dine, and we shall talk together at length.

In this mean time Sir PATRICK GRAY fat down to his dinner, and the earl treated him, and made him good chear, whereof Sir PATRICK GRAY was well contented, believing all things to succeed well thereafter. But the earl of Douglas, on the other part, took a suspicion and conjecture what Sir PATRICK GRAY'S commission was, and dreading the desire thereof should be for his friend, the tutor of Bomby; therefore, in the mean time, when they were at the dinner, talking of merry matters, the earl caused quietly take forth the tutor of Bomby out of prison, and have him to the green, and there struck off his head, and took the same away from him, and syne covered a fair cloth on his body, that nothing might be seen of that treasonable act that was done.

In this mean time, when dinner was done, Sir PATRICK GRAY presented the king's writing unto the earl, who reverently received it; and, when he had read it, and considered the effect thereof, he gave great thanks to Sir PATRICK GRAY, saying, "he was

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beholden to him, that brought fo familiar a writing " from his prince to him, confidering how it flood be-" tween them at that time : And as to the defire and " fupplication, it should be thankfully granted to the " king; and the rather for Sir PATRICK's fake." And took him by the hand, and led him forth to the green, where the gentleman was lying dead, and shewed him the manner, and faid, " Sir PATRICK. " you are come a little too late; but yonder is your " fifter's fon lying, but he wants the head. Take " his body, and do with it what you will." Sir PA-TRICK answered again with a fore heart, and said. " my lord, if ye have taken from him his head, dif-" pone upon the body as ye please." And with that called for his horse, and leaped thereon; and when he was on horseback, he said to the earl on this manner. " My lord, if I live, you shall be rewarded for your " labours, that you have used at this time, according " to your demerits."

At this faying the earl was highly offended, and cried for horse. Sir PATRICK, seeing the earl's sury, spurred his horse; but he was chased near to Edinburgh ere they lest him; and had it not been his led horse was so tried and good, he had been taken. But when thir news came to the king, he was heavily discontented therewith, both of the slaughter, then of the chasing of his servant. To that effect the king called his secret council to advise hereupon, what was best to be done for to danton this wicked man, that could no ways be stenched from reif, oppression and slaughter, both of great men and small. The council advised and concluded, that it was best to flatter him, and to bring him in to the council by fair heghts and promises; and, in the mean time to punish him ac-

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cording to his demerit. So the king made him to forget all faults and enormities done by the earl of Douglas in times bypast, desiring nothing of him, but that he would be a good man in time coming; and, for that cause, desired him affectuously to come to the council, making him sure, with all promises, that he should be safely pardoned. Some say he got the great seal thereunto, ere he would grant to come to the king.

Then the earl of Douglas came at the king's com-

mandment to Stirling, where he was well received and entertained by the king, who thereafter called him to the supper, and banquetted him very royally, thinking, that if it might be possible, either with gentleness or good deed, to withdraw him from his attempts that he purposed to do. At the last, after Supper, the king called the earl of Douglas to a secret chamber, and put all men aside, except so many as were upon the fecret council, and his own guard; and there faid to him very meekly and gently, as it had been a fober offence that was yet committed, " It " is given me to understand, my lord," fays the king, " that there is betwixt you and the earl of Crawford, and fome other nobles, fome band and confederation " made. I pray you therefore to break fuch bands, " leagues and focieties, that are not wont to be within " a realm under one prince, by his authority and " command; and that ye would be fo good as to re-" move all fuch occasion as may cause the subjects of " this realm to take suspicion of your evil mind to-" ward me. As to myself, I know no evil, nor be-" lieve none of you; yet it is very unfeeming to do " any fuch things as are not confonant to the laws of " this realm, and pleasure of the king's lieges : For

doubtless it cannot be without great flander of the

" people,

" people, nor yet without the prince's hatred, to commit fuch things as shall cause the people live without order, through evil example; by the whilk the realm shall be evil abused by every man, even as they were a people without law or justice."

This being faid, with many other pleasant words, which are impossible to rehearse, the earl of Douglas, nothing moved with the king's humanity, answered again very pridefully, faying, " That he could not " break the band that was made, nor would he dif-" charge the same for no man's fayings; and that for " the great offences the king had done to him;" reproaching the king very arrogantly, that he had reproved him of all his offences: Yet, notwithflanding of his proud answer, the king exhorted him to do nothing that was degenerate from the nobility of his forebeers; for that was very wicked that he had begun, and was a sufficient cause to tyne his life, lands and goods, and deferving forfaultry, and his memory to be abolished and stramped forth for ever. At the last, the king feeing that he could not prevail with fairness; and also dreading, that, through so prideful anfwers, worse should have followed thereupon than was bruited of before, unless hasty remeid were found: and so he took a high anger, and thought to do the thing that was less skaith to the commonwealth, than to trouble the whole realm therewith; and so he pulled forth a fword, and faid, " I fee well, my lord, my " prayer cannot prevail to cause you desist from " your wicked counsel and enterprizes, I shall cause " all your wicked conspiracies to cease." Thereaster immediately he struck him through the body with the fword; and thereafter the guard, hearing the tumult within the chamber, rushed in, and slew the earl out

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of hand. This flaughter was in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and fifty two, the twentieth day of February: Which is to be lamented, that a prince should be so tempted by his own subjects, after so many godly and wife exhortations.

At this time there was, in the town of Stirling, many of the earl of Douglas's friends, with his brother JAMES, the earl of Murray, the earl of Ormond, the lord Balveny, the knight of Cadyow, JAMES HA. MILTON, a man of great estimation among the nobles of the realm, with many other great gentlemen, very potent both of riches and friends. Thir gentlemen, how foon word came to them, that the earl was flain, they remained there that night; and, upon the morn, they put JAMES DOUGLAS in his brother's place, as was ordained by the earl before; who made a long harangue and exhortation to his friends to fiege the castle, and to revenge the unworthy flaughter of his brother, with the king's life. But when they faw it was impossible to do, seeing they had no munition sitting for this effect, the castle being so strong, they gave the king very contumelious words, faying, " That " they should never obey nor know him again as a

"king or prince, but should be revenged upon him
and his cruel tyranny, or ever they ceased."

After this they burned and herried the town of Stirling; and all such other lands that belonged either to the king, or yet to them that would not profess their faction, they wasted with fire and sword. Amongst the which, the whole lands and town of Dalkeith were destroyed, and the castle thereof belted about with a strong siege, and made there a solemn oath, never to pass therefrom unto the time it were equal with the ground. For James hated and envied

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JOHN lord Dalkeith, his friend and kinsiman, above all other traitors; and that because he was both of his kindred and sirname, and yet had refused to assist his attempts and enterprizes. This siege lasted longer than the siegers believed; for the men within defended valiantly, till their unsriends, irked by so long waking, hunger and other troubles, and the great slaughter of many of their solks, and sundry wounded so cruelly, that they were constrained to leave off their purpose; and so they dissolved the siege.

The king, being highly offended with their arrogant attempts, gathered an army to punish thir conspirators for their temerarious enterprizes; but when he saw he could not have the upper hand upon them, as without doubt, he might not make his party good against so great an army, he left his intention till a better

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In the mean time, when he was looking for the coming of ALEXANDER earl of Huntley, whom he had charged by a herald, and also requested very affectuously to come in his defence, the said ALEX-ANDER, obedient to the king's command, coming forward with a great army for the king's support, his gate was overfet by ALEXANDER earl of Crawford, who was already declared the king's rebel and traitor for lefe-majesty, because he contemned the king's authority and empire, being fummoned by an officer of arms to underly the law. The earl of Crawford affembled a great company of his allies, kindred and friends, with the whole folks of Angus; and thereafter, when the earl of Huntley was marching towards Angus, the earl of Crawford camped his folks beside the town of Brechin; where both the armies, coming in others fight, rushed forward in arrayed battle upon other. It

was long foughten with great cruelty and uncertain victory, till that a company of fresh men came to renew the battle, taking the advantage of the knowfide, who came fo fiercely on the earl of Huntley's vanguard, that they were compelled to fettle a little back; the which when the Angus-men perceived that they were put back, and having advantage, they came more fiercely upon them than they did before, and namely upon the place forest charged. But, in the mean time, a captain of the earl of Crawford's, to wit, JOHN COLOSS of Bonymoon, who had in governance three hundred able men, well armed, and bore battle-axes and halberts, with other fharp weapons: This JOHN COLOSS fled from the earl of Crawford traiterously, and caused others to flee with him, wherethrough he tint the field: And because this laird defired his fon to be put in fee of his lands, who were holden of the earl of Crawford, with other commodity and gains, that this laird defired at the earl of Crawford's hands; who answered him and said, " the time " was short;" but bade him do well that day with him, and prove a valiant man, and he should have all his defire and more: But the laird of Bonymoon, not contented with this answer, passed from him with a grief, and arrayed his men, and put them in order, as he would have foughten most furiously; but when he faw his time come, that he should have rescued the earl of Crawford, who was fighting then cruelly, the faid captain drew himself aside cowardly, and made no support to the faid earl; who, seeing his men departing from him treasonably, by command and convoy of this captain, he was constrained to flee for safety of his life. And albeit the victory inclined to the earl of Huntley, yet he got not the same without great slaugh-

ter of his folks; for two of his own brethren were flain, with fundry other gentlemen and yeomen. There was flain upon the earl of Crawford's fide, Sir JOHN LINDSAY knight, his brother, with many other gentlemen, whereof had been great pity, if they had been in a better quarrel. So the earl of Crawford being overcome in this battle, it is faid, that a gentleman followed fo fiercely upon the chafe, that he drew him in the midst of the press of the earl of Crawford's folks, that were gathered to be his fafeguard in the midst of the flight; and so was compelled to pass with them, as he had been a man of their own, to the place of Finhaven, where he heard the earl fay, " That he " wished to be seven years in hell, to have the ho-" nourable victory that had fallen to the earl of Hunt-" ley that day, confidering the great favour that he " had conquest of his prince, for his relief, and re-" preffing of rebels." Upon the morn thereafter all the dead bodies were buried, ilk one after their own estate: and albeit the earl was overcome, as faid is, yet he remained still in the country of Angus, as he did before, and purfued all them that were not of his faction with great cruelty, wasting their lands with fire and fword; and namely them that had fled from him in the battle, spoiling them of their lives and goods, as they might be apprehended, and cast down their houses to the ground. This battle was stricken upon the Ascension-day, in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and fifty three.

In this mean time, while the earl of Huntley was occupied, on this manner, for the liberty of the realm, the earl of Murray entered into the lands of Strathbogie, and burnt the corns, and herried the country, and all other lands pertaining to the earl of Huntley.

Which was not long unrequited: For how foon he was victorious over the common enemies of the realm, he invaded the lands of Murray, with greater cruelty, flaughter and herryship, than was done in his bounds and lands. At whose coming the earl of Murray, with his friends and clients, took such fear, by reason of the recent victory, that it behoved him to slee the country for safeguard of his life. It is said, that the earl of Huntley came to the town of Fores, and burnt up all the one side of the town, by reason it appertained to the earl of Murray his kindred and friends; but spared the other side thereof, by reason that a great part of it pertained to his savourers and goodwillers.

. Short while thereafter the king caused set a parliament, by the counsel of JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, where the decreet of forfalture, led against the earl of Crawford before, was newly approved and ratified again, and his goods and gear confiscate, and lands dealt, himfelf declared traitor for his rebellion, and his memory abolished, and scraped out of the book of arms for ever. And also lames earl of Douglas, the earls of Murray and Ormond, JOHN lord of Balveny, JAMES HAMILTON of that ilk, knight, foresaid, with diverse other landed gentlemen, were fummoned to the parliament to a certain day, to underly the law for certain crimes as were to be laid to their charges. But this was in vain; for none of them thought to make obedience or compearance: And also, upon the night after they were summoned, some explorators were fent to the town of Edinburgh, to fpy the form and fashion of all their proceedings; who at their masters commands, affixt placarts upon the kirk-doors, fealed with the earl's own hand and fignet, bearing thir words, in effect, " The earl of Douglas " will

"will neither obey command nor charge in time coming, by reason the king was but a bloody murderer of his own blood, and breaker of the law of hospitality, a false ungodly thirster for innocent blood, without a just quarrel or occasion;" with many other contumelious sayings, unworthy to rehearse.

The king getting wit of this thing, he took fuch high disdain, that he gathered a company of armed men to invade this prideful tyrant; and, because it was the dead time of the year, he could do nothing for the repairing of his honour, except that he burnt the corns and houses, herried the countries, and slew fome spies. He returned home again, and deferred his purpose till the spring of the year: But yet the earl, with his affifters, took little heed of all this hership and slaughter, but were as infolent as they had never been afflicted with fuch misfortunes. And moreover, that the lands, rents and riches, pertaining to his umquhile brother, should not come in the hand of foreign men, the earl of Douglas fent to the Pope, for a dispensation to marry his brother's wife, to whom a great part of the lands fell, through the decease of her faid umquhile husband, beside the lands that appertained to her in heritage, which he could no manner of way obtain; and therefore, without law, or respect to God or a good conscience, he took and married his brother's wife, to the effect foresaid.

In the spring of the year thereafter, this intestine war, within the bowels of this commonweal, began to increase ay more and more; and so continued two years; during the which time, the Douglasses burnt and herried all lands pertaining to the king and his assisters; and also to them that were not plain on his

faction. And, upon the other side, the king and his affisters were very loath to use such cruelty for their recompence, but rather, to break their enemies prideful arrogance, wasted and herried Anandale, Etrick, Forest, with other lands pertaining to the other fac-At the last the earl of Douglas's special friends. fuch as were left on life, during the faid civil wars, being vexed and irked so long through civil war, and by frequent hership drawn to extreme poverty, gave counsel to their chief to leave and desist from his seditious disobedience, and humbly to desire pardon of the king's majesty, and to render himself, without fraud or guile, in his hands, will and gentrice, who, of his honour, appearantly could not deny the fame to him; for if a king will denude himfelf of all clemency, consideration or pity, then it were a great and manifest fign and token of his fearful dread and terror to every man. Attour, they gave the earl to underfland, that the king being fo vexed, as appeared to them, through longfome and tedious travel, taken of the appealing of the commonweal, would be as glad to receive him in his favour, as he would be to offer himfelf thereto: And fo, not only should he be reconciled to his prince, but also might conquess the friendship of many others, as principal ender of all mischief reigning within this realm.

When his friends had faid this, with many other persuasive words, he made answer, "That he would never put his life in that man's will and danger, that had put down, first, two in the castle of Edin-

- burgh that were brother-bairns with him; and now,
- burgh that were brother-bairns with him; and now, of late, WILLIAM earl of Douglas, his own bro-
- " ther, of whom the like rang never within this realm:
- " And were not all thir, fays he, called very gentle,

" as friends, by himself, and by his present courtiers " and counsellors, to righteous action, to the effect " thereby the law of nature, and law of hospitality, " they should be even, as it was, destroyed and flain? " And if fo was, that they were betrayed and flain " under the colour of entertainment, how much more " fearful is it to me to put me in his danger? So he " thought there was but one of two to be chosen, ei-" ther extreme chance of battle, whereby one might " have the upper hand; or elfe, if they left the field, " and give over the enterprize, they should be mur-" dered, flain, or banished, with other intolerable " chances that might befal, to his derision, scorn and " skaith, and shame to his friends and kindred. Short-" ly, there was no middle way, he thought, that " might deliver him out of this present peril."

For which fayings many began to leave his mighty. courage in fuch adverfity. Others not only difallowed his obstinate mind in such wickedness, but also reproached the fortifiers and allowers of him in fuch wickedness and perverse perseverance: Thinking well (as it was true indeed) that all they that fed him with fuch flattery and disobedience, both towards God and the king, would not continue unto the unhappy end of this matter, as they promifed, to the great everfion of the common-weal, and the destroying of the prince: For they knew that his pridefulness could not lack a mischievous end, as might be sufficiently understood, by the example of fuch like men in all times bygone, both by the Scottish and other foreign history. Then, how soon the earl of Crawford underflood the earl of Douglas's obstinate and wilful difobedience, for whose quarrel he had fallen in such mischief, he despited his company, and took purpose to humble

humble himself, and come in a vile abuiliement to the king, and ask pardon for the high offences that he had committed; knowing well, that if he would persevere in his wicked society and band, that not only should he, his kindred and friends with their posterity. be put out from all memory, but also the noble facts, and martial deeds of his forebeers, who through their good fervice, had conquest both the lands that he posfessed prefently, and also the king's favours, with great commendation and laud of all men, should be obscured and forgot for ever.

So, when the king was passing to the north land, coming through Angus, the earl of Crawford came, bareheaded and barefooted, clad as he had been a miferable cative guilty of a crime, accused in judgment, in dolorous and poor arrayment, to move the judges and magistrates to commiseration and pity; and so, accompanied with a finall number of folks, driry in countenance, he cast him in the king's gate. from hand, fo foon as he came before the king's majefty, with tears burfting out abundantly, he fell on his knees; which being shewn to the king, what man it was, and who they were that were in his company; and that the earl, confident more in the king's clemency, wherein he had placed his whole hope of restitution, than moved with any fear or dreadour, had put himself in his grace's will and mercy; the king bade raise him up, to see wherefore he came, all fear and dreadour fet aside. Then it is said, that the earl's courage being some part recovered again, dried the tears from his eyes, and faid to the king in manner following.

" If transgressors of the laws and statutes of the " realm hoped for no other thing at kings and princes,

" having

" having the rule and government of others, but that " which the laws decern, most mighty prince, I fee no " place left to me this day for remission of my crime: " yet, notwithstanding the same, reason itself persuades " me, with good hopes, to come straight to thy cle-" mency to impetrate pardon for my offence, even as " it were to a fure anchor, in whose hands lies the " power of life and death. I believe clemency to be " the principal of all royal duties, and you to have " conquest the same, as that becomes a king and " orince above all other virtues: For if my fevere " fleuth would labour to put away by any argument. " by the fame reason he would appear to make away " all occasion of amendment from them that fall fome-" time from right and reason, and so should all kings " virtues be obscured and closed up, and a broad en-" try opened forth to all kind of defection and ini-" quity. I grant indeed, that no man should, of his " duty, decline from right and reason: But one thing " I require, what is he that is in greatest estimation of " the common people, in all civil and public affairs. " that may avow, that he hath never faulted against. " the laws, either for the cause of hatred, favour, dreadour or envy? I believe, forfooth, that no " man can fay it. It is but casual to a man to fall in " an offence; but to amend, recognosce and condemn. " his fault himself, it is a great gift and benefit of " God: For it becomes one that is fallen in error. " to which every mortal man is subject, to become " penitent, and amend his life, with firm purpose to " eschew the like in time coming. Wherefore, most " clement prince, I am as a weary man coming to " your majesty this day, granting that I have faulted, " and my conscience, bearing witness, condemns my

own doings; in fo far, that I confess I am unworthy " to live, unless I be willing myself, on the one part. " to correct the former fashions of my life; and, on " the other, the great pity of the noble house of " Lindfays falling in destruction. But if you help it " in time, which should move you to restore me for my " forebeers cause, even as it were from death to life again: For thy clemency, from the which no man " has been repulfed, at any time, that was moved with " good, without fraud or guile, to humble themselves thereto, has given me hardiment to alk pardon of my offences and faults. I pray thee, therefore, that " I may obtain this my request, and that for my fore-" beers their truth and constancy, care and travel " taken by them for defence of the realm. And be-" cause the beginning of our house, progress and ge-" nealogy of the fame, will appear to further me in " this case, I shall declare the same briefly. The first " man that was called Lindfay was heretor to many er great lands in England, which was his proper firname, " who was banished therefrom by the conquess of the " baftard of Normandy; and so came in Scotland to de queen MARGARET, in the time of MALCOLM " CANMORE, who was received right thankfully for " her cause, because he was the nearest and greatest of " her friends at that time; and for his victorious and " manly deeds in defending and maintaining the commonweal of Scotland, king MALCOLM gave him the lands of Wachoobdale, which lie adjacent to " Anandale, which of that house descended our forebeers, who were afterwards lords of Glenesk and earls " of Crawford; and that, by the manly and virtuous er government of our ferebeers and progenitors, who " used themselves so manly and truly to the crown, " they

" they were rewarded richly, and got by the great li-" berality of the princes of Scotland, feeing their vic-" torious deeds; and in special, of ROBERT II. who " gave us the lands of Crawford, and made us earls " thereof, as you may hear thereafter how he fuc-" ceeded : For afterward descended out of our house. " a noble house, called, Lord Lindsay of the Byres, " who reigns and flourishes in great fame to this day, " in estimation and honour with their prince, and the " authority; though we have flidden therefrom at " this time. But long time hereafter descended A-" LEXANDER LINDSAY, that fought and was flain " at the bridge of Stirling, right manfully fighting in " company with earl THOMAS RANDAL, in de-" fence of king ROBERT THE BRUCE, contrary " the English men. This ALEXANDER begat A-"LEXANDER, who was flain at the battle of " Duplin, for the defence and prefervation of our " young king DAVID II. from the tyranny of " his enemies. Short while after this battle, DAVID " LINDSAY succeeded both to his father's lands, and " other great lordships given to him by the authority, " for his manhood and fervice done for the pleasure " of the crown and commonweal of the country; for " he was flain at Halidon-hill, when he was fighting " furiously with the Englishmen, debating the liberty " of Scotland. JAMES, fon to his brother JOHN. " fucceeded to him, who was lord of Glenesk. He " fought upon the bridge of London, in fingular bat-" tle, with the lord of Welles, a strong champion. " and in great estimation with the king of England. " notwithstanding his strength and might, to no less " shame and marvel of his adversaries, than great laud " and praise of this our native country: Whom " king

" king ROBERT II. rewarded with the lands and " castle of Crawford, whom through our earldom " is fo named, for his fingular behaviour toward the " commonweal of this realm: For, by his counsel " and convoy, all things pertaining to our realm, in "the time of ROBERT II. were ruled with greater craft and wisdom, than in any ages of before. This " IAMES begat DAVID, who was my grand-father " who deferved great laud and praife, for the diligent " inquisition made by him in the fearching of the " traitors that put down thy father of worthy memo-" ry; and took fo great travel in the punishing there-" of, that he never desisted till every one were con-" dignly punished for their shameful treason. So no " man doubts, but thy excellency knows perfectly, by our Scottish histories, the wisdom, constancy, " ftrength and gravity, with the fingular knowlege of " warlike affairs, and fovereign manhood of my fore-" beers and predeceffors, who, every one, have loft " their lives for the liberty and welfare of this realm. " But, fy on me, most miserable and unworthy traitor, " that am so forgetful of all thir men! What mis-" chief was in my mind, when I adjoyned me in ar-" mour with the traitors that conspired against thy " majesty, and, by my cruel doings, compelled all " Angus, with many others, to invade them that were " coming for thy defence, for the suppressing of false " conjured traitors? O wilful and fool-hardy enter-" prize! O fubtile and temerarious purpose! O high " fury and madness! O miserable chance to be la-" mented! Not only have I brought myself in this " mifery, but also have brought the whole nobles and " gentlemen of Angus to extreme dangers, both of " their lives and tinfel of their houses. What shall I " fay

" fay or do? Or where shall I go? Or by what " moyen shall I rid me of this mischief? All law. " politively denies that I should live, but raves the, " life out of my body. The acts and statutes of the " realm require, that I should suffer a shameful death. " It is of truth there is no remeid for me, nor none " of my adherents, who cafually, as men, have fallen, " I will not fay, have flidden, from their due obedi-" ence, through the great fear and dreadour of me, " unless thy royal majesty, who hast the power both " of life and death, wilt have confideration and pity " of us, and grant us grace and favour, which the " laws and acts of parliament deny to us all utterly; " yet your grace may do better, because kings and " princes may dispense with the laws and statutes. " Attour, it is a miserable and lamentable case, to see " the noble and antient house of Lindsays, conquest " with great wisdom, manhood, care and travel, to be " destroyed for ever, for the offence of one only man. " I pray thee therefore, most merciful prince, that I " be not debarred nor excluded from the fruit of thy " gentrice, nor yet exiled and denied of thy huma-" nity, which has been shewn so largely to diverse o-" thers oft before. For if it be a great manhood to " overthrow and vanquish thy enemy; yet it is no " less praise, with good advisement, to have ruth " and pity of him that he hath overcome; because " that is understood to be a fure puissance, when he " doth moderate his own strength and power, and "knows how to overcome his own affections. I re-" gard not mine own personage no manner of way ; " therefore I am content to underly what pain thy " majesty pleases to provide upon me, either to be " hanged, to be riven with the wild beafts, to be " drowned

drowned, to be cast over a crag, to be banished, or else to be casten in prison till I die. Finally, it is neither the fearful mourning of my dearest spouse, nor the greeting of my bairns, nor the lamentable fobbing of my friends, nor yet the hership of my lands, that moves me so much, as the decay and falling of our house, and the lamentable chance and fortune of the noblemen of Angus, with the rest of my adherents; whose lands, lives and goods stand in danger for my cause. Have ruth and pity, most clement prince, of the noble house and sirname of Lindsays. Have compassion of the noblemen that assisted to my faction, that they, at the least, be not spuilzied of their lives and heritage only for my offence and fault."

When the earl thus had ended, the nobles and gentlemen of Angus, who came in his company to feck remission, held up their hands to the king, most dolorously crying mercy; till their sobbing and fighing cutted their words fo fore, that almost their prayers could not be understood. Through the which there rose such ruth and pity among the company, that none could contain themselves from tears and mourning: And fo every man began to implore the king's majesty for respect to this earl and his affisters; but principally JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews, and Sir WILLIAM CREIGHTON; by whose persuasion the earl came at that time to feek mercy, follicited greatly for him and his affifters, whom he compelled, contrary their hearts, to maintain his treafon and conspiracy; praying the king, of his benignity, to spare them; for the experience of this mischief, that had befallen them by this rebellion, should make them the more humble, faithful and obedient to their

their prince, and to serve his majesty, than if they had never fallen before. Attour, so great a man's repentance, humble submission and desire were not to be lightlied nor despised. "Have consideration, said they, and regard to the dangerous times, with the other circumstances presently within the realm; for if such a thing be upon the sace of the earth, as faith, repentance and truth, no man goodly may be lieve, nor could suspect either fraud or guile." By thir mens words, lamentable gesture and countenance, they overcame and moved the king; and specially the request and prayers of thir men that stood about him.

So, remission being granted to them, the king bade them be of good courage, and be of a better mind towards the commonwealth than they were before, faying, "That he had neither defire of the noblemens " lands, nor goods, nor lives, but rather to conque's " their hearts and friendships; and that it is truth, " that he was ireful contrary all conspirators, but yet " would fettle his ire fo foon as they became penitent " of their offences and crime: And also he under-" flood, that it became a prince to be revenged upon " rebellers and injurers of his majesty; yet, notwith-" standing, he would use such moderance herein, and. " deal with them as gently as he could, without dan-" ger of others, or evil example. Attour, he defired " no greater revenge on them, than to fee a man of " great courage and spirit, attempting, short sensyne, " temerariously such thing above his degree and " ftrength, now rendering himself freely, without " compulsion, to that estate, that he granted he had " no other refuge, nor hope of restitution, but in the " king's clemency and gentrice, and that he had asked " mercy

" mercy and forgiveness, upon his knees, him whom he had pursued most cruelly, adjoined and sociated

" with the common enemies of the realm,"

How foon the king had faid this, and fuch like words, showing his mind inclined to mercy, he received the earl and his assisters into his grace and favours, absolved them from lese-majesty, restored them to their dignity again, former estate and honours, which was great joy and gladness to them all that beheld the same. The earl of Crawford, gloried with his happy eventure, convoyed the king's majesty in the north land, and with him a chosen company of young able men of Angus; and, in the month thereafter, banquetted him right magnificently in the place of Finhaven, promising faithfully to be ready, with all his forces, to overthrow and fight against the common enemies of the realm, when and where it pleased the king's majesty.

This earl, being on this ways reconciled with the king's majelty, gave over all tyranny, and became a faithful subject, and a sicker targe to the king's lieges. having nothing in more reverence and honour, than the king's royal person. At last being, on this manner, at quietness and rest, when he appeared to his friends, and all other of the country, to be in greatest prosperity, fortune tholed not the happy estate of this man long time to continue: For, in the fixth month after this restitution, as said is, he took the hot fever, and died in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and fifty four, and was buried, with great triumph and pomp, in the Greyfriers of Dundee, in his forebeers sepulchre. In this same year the college of Glasgow was founded and erected. In the year preceeding, Mahomet the prince of the Turks belieged and

and wan the noble and ancient town of Constantinople, and used great slaughter and cruelty upon the christians wherever they came (NICHOLAS I. being pope of Rome) and made the same, from thencesorth, his principal dwelling-place, and yet make their residence there, until thir our days.

In the beginning of the next year, which was one thousand four hundred and fifty five, there was a parliament fet at Edinburgh, where JAMES earl of Douglas, BEATRIX, his brother's wife, pretended spoufe to himself, GEORGE earl of Ormond, JOHN lord of Balveny, were all together forefaulted and condemned to death. There was a convention made thereafter, where the king, calling to remembrance how that the earldom of Murray was reft from JAMES CREIGHTON, who married the eldest daughter of the earl of Murray, as faid is, by the fuhtile craft of WILLIAM earl of Douglas, and given to ARCHI-BALD his brother; he restored the same to him again: But when JAMES CREIGHTON perceived that he could not joyfe the lands without the hatred of many gentlemen, he again put it in the king's hand; and his fon thereafter, called GEORGE CREIGHTON. in recompensation thereof, was made earl of Caithnefs. Attour, WILLIAM HAY, then constable of this realm, was the first belted earl of Errol; and fundry other noble knights, fuch as Darnly, Hales, Lyle and Lorn, were made lords and barons of parliament.

After this council was dissolved, the king caused raise a new army, to pass upon the common enemies of this realm; and first invaded Galloway, which was rendered without any difficulty, with all the strengths thereof. Thereaster passed to Douglasdale, where

greater cruelty was used than in Galloway; and the whole men and goods given to be a just prey to be taken up by the king's men of war, because the inhabiters were stubborn, and made them to gainstand the king's authority. But when the earl of Douglas's lands and men were overthrown with fuch calamities, Sir JAMES HAMILTON, the earl of Douglas's familiar fervant. was fent to England for support against the king of Scotland, in defence of the earl of Douglas; but he obtained no men, but money. The which being ob. tained, he persuaded the earl of Douglas to offer the king extreme battle. To that effect he caused take up bands and men of war, to the number of three hundred horsemen, and three hundred sootmen, to be under the captainry and government of JAMES HA-MILTON: And also he caused seek all clients and familiars, and his tender kindred and friends, with all them that favoured him in the realm of Scotland at that time, charging them to be ready at the appointed day, to come to him, and debate him and his lands against the king, when he came to pursue him, and specially if he fieged Abercorn.

When the king heard of this provision of the earl of Douglas, he was greatly affeared, thinking that he had wasted himself and his money, and had tyred all his subjects in the pursuit, hership and dantoning of the earl of Douglas; the whilk he thought, by that extremity that he used toward the earl of Douglas, was occasion, if the said earl might be party to him by any way, that he might give him battle, either by tinsel or winning, to put the whole realm in jeopardy. The which the king was very loath to do; and so the king was very pensive in his mind, what was best to be done in desence contrary the earl of Douglas, whom

whom he knew to have fo many favourers at that time, that it was impossible to him to be party to the faid earl, if he pleased to rise against him, and give him battle. Yet the king devised a fubtile and crafty mean against the said earl, that is to say, he caused the word gang to the earl of Douglas's ears, that he was to pals out of the country, and that for fear of the earl of Douglas. Thir things coming to the earl of Douglas, he was very rejoyced hereat, and was the flacker in the raising of his men and army against him, thinking, that he should obtain his purpose without any battle or gainstanding of the king. But, in this mean time, the king caused the earl of Orkney, the earl of Angus, with other fundry barons and gentlemen, to the number of fix thousand men, with all provision, to be ready at a certain day, as he advertised them, to pass to the castle of Abercorn, and to fiege it.

In this mean time, the earl of Douglas hearing tell, that the king's army was come to the castle of Abercorn, and was sieging it, he believed surely that the king had been there himself: Therefore he sent and warned all his kindred and friends, and clients, and all that would do for him in Scotland, charging them to meet him at Douglas, the tenth day hereaster, with twenty days victuals, to pass with him to the castle of Abercorn, and there to rescue the same, or else to give the king battle, and cause him either to fight or slee out of Scotland.

The king, hearing this, was stupissed in his mind, thinking his army was over little, at that time, to debate against the earl of Douglas: For it was shown to him he would be forty thousand men in armour against the king, at that time. The king, seeing no refuge,

refuge, passed in a ship hastily to St. Andrews, there to meet with bishop JAMES KENNEDY, and to have his counsel thereunto: Showing him, that the earl of Douglas was gathering a great army, either to sight with him, or to chase him out of the country; and also he knew no support to be had hastily at that time: Therefore he desired his counsel, what he thought best to be done hereintil. This bishop was a wise and godly man, and answered the king in this manner, as after follows, saying, "Sir, I beseech your grace, that you will take a little meat to resresh you, and I will pass to my orature, and pray to God for you, and the commonwealth of this realm and country."

This being spoken, the king passed to his disjoyn, and the bishop to his orature, to make his prayer to Almighty God, to open his mouth, to give him knowlege and utterance to give that noble prince, who was destitute and comfortless of all good counsel, that he might give him instruction and learning how he should escape that great peril and danger, appearantly to fall at that time. Then this bishop took the king's grace by the hand, and led him to his orature, befeeking him to make his earnest prayers to the Almighty, that he would strengthen him with his holy spirit, that he might, with a bold courage, refift his enemies, who were rifen against him contrary the commandment of God, and commonweal of the country; befeeking God, of his mighty power and grace, that he would grant him victory of these conspirators and rebellers, who were rifen against him without any cause made by him: And specially, that he would grant him the upper hand of the earl of Douglas and his complices, like as he had done before of him and his oppressors,

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oppressors, when they oppressed the commonwealth of the country.

This being done, the king passed, in this manner, to his devotion, as this holy bishop had commanded him. And after, when the king had ended his prayer to Almighty God, then this bishop, seeing the king defolate of good counfel, and despaired of good hope or success of any victory to fall to him contrary his enemies, caused him to pass into his study or fecret house, where his bows and arrows lay, with other fundry jewels of the faid bishop. Then this bishop let this noble prince fee a fimilitude, the which might bring him to experience and comfort, how he might invade against the uproar of the conspirators, and specially against the earl of Douglas, and the leave of his complices. The faid bishop pulled out a great sheaf of arrows, knit together in a whang of leather, and delivered them to the king in his hand, and bade him fet them to his knee and break them. The king answered, " It is impossible, because there is so many " together of the faid arrows, and knit so fast with " leather, that no man can break them at once." The bishop anwered and said, " That is true, but yet he " would let the king fee, that he could break them;" and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all; and faid unto the king, " Sir, " you must even do in this manner with your barons " that have risen against you, which are so many of " number, and knit so fast together against you in " conspiracy, that you, on no ways, can get them " broken, but by this practic that I have shown you " by the similitude of thir arrows; that is to fay, you " must conquess and break by lord and lord, by him-" felf; for ye may not deal with them all at once. " And

" And further, make a proclamation out-through your realm, to all thieves and traitors, and all them that have offended against you, to grant them free remission, to be good men in time coming, and now to serve your grace at this instant time in your necessity. The which being done, I trust your

" grace shall get more favours than shall your contrary

" party."

The king, hearing this wife counsel, took courage, and made his proclamation, as foresaid is, in all parts of this realm, to the effect foresaid. He pulled up his banner in St. Andrews, and past to Falkland, on the first night, in arrayed battle. On the morrow he went to Stirling, accompanied with this noble bishop TAMES KENNEDY, with all the lords of Fife. Angus and Strathern, and remained in Stirling till the north part of Scotland came to him, which were to the number, with the king, of all people, thirty thousand men. Hereafter, awfully, with displayed banner, came forward against the earl of Douglas, who was lying in the camp of battle on the fouth fide of the water of Caron, a little by-east the bridge, with the number of forty thousand men, making for to rescue the castle of Abercorn; and thinking no less into his mind, than he should go to the king and give him battle, or else to cause him to leave the realm. But, on the other fide, bishop JAMES KENNEDY, used a crafty mean to break the earl of Douglas's army, and fent a fecret fervant of his own to JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, who was principal captain to the earl of Douglas at this time, and had three hundred footmen and three hundred horsemen at his governance, upon the earl of Douglas's expences, to charge and pass with him where he pleased; yet, notwithstanding, the faid JAMES HAMILTON

HAMILTON being advertised by his eame, bishop JAMES KENNEDY, of the king's good mind and favour towards him, which he appurchased to him by his moven, showing to him, that if he would return and leave the earl of Douglas at that time, and come and ferve the king's grace, he should have a full remission of all things bypast, and great reward in time to come. The which he obtained as after follows. And the faid JAMES took to be advised in this matter. and gave the messenger a good answer. Notwithstanding this, JAMES having a kindly love to the earl of Douglas, and a respect to his own favour. pondered the cause in his own mind, thinking that he would effay the earl of Douglas's mind in the faid cause, what he was purposed to do at that time; howbeit he knew well the matter to be unjust both against God and his native prince: Therefore his conscience moved him, at that time, to be delivered of that unhappy servitude contrary the king and commonwealth of the country. And, in this mean time, there came a herald from the king's army, charging the earl of Douglas and his complices to skale their army, under the pain of treason. At thir novels and charge the earl of Douglas mocked and scorned the herald; and, miscontent, caused blow his trumpets, and put his men in order, and marched forward to have met the king, and foughten with him. But from time he faw the king's army in fight, and abiding him floutly with fo great a number, his courage was fomething abased, and fo were all the lords and barons that were with him, who had heard the king's proclamation, wherein was granted a remission to all them that had offended against his majesty in times past; and if then immediately they would come to him, and be good men E 2 in

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in times coming, that all faults should be discharged bygone.

Thir motives, with other more, moved the gentlemen and commons hearts, that were with the earl of Douglas at that time, for to favour the king's party better. The earl of Douglas feeing this, that his folks had tint some part of courage, and were not so well willing as he required; therefore he retired his army home again to their camps, where they lay all the night, trufting to instruct them, and to give them better courage and hardiment than they had before, that they might pass forward with him, on the morrow, as he pleased. But of this purpose, all the lords and captains of the earl of Douglas were not contented: and in special JAMES HAMILTON, who passed to the earl of Douglas incontinent, and required of him what was his mind, if he would give the king battle or not; and flew to him, the longer he delayed, there would be the fewer number at his purpose; and the king was ever the more able against him. The said earl answered to JAMES HAMILTON, saying, " If " he was tired, he might depart when he pleafed." Of the which answer the faid JAMES was well contented, and that same night passed to the king, where he was well received and thankfully, and all things remitted bypast. That same night, the rest of the barons and gentlemen, seeing the departing of JAMES HAMILTON, took fuch fear, that every man paffed away, that on the morrow the earl of Douglas was not a hundred men, by his own house: Who, seeing this, took purpose, and hastily fled in Anandale, where he was foon thereafter vanquished by a band of men of war of the king's. And so this prince obtained great victory and peace, without any flaughter of the lieges at that time; and through the counsel of this noble

noble bishop, and the returning of JAMES HAMIL-TON to the king. Yet the king, seeing nothing on his contrary but bare fields, knowing well that the earl of Douglas was departed in this manner as I have shewn; yet, notwithstanding, the king gave JAMES HAMILTON no credit in the beginning; and thereafter sent him to be warded in the castle of Rossin with the earl of Orkney, till he had win the castle of Abercorn, where he lost many of his folks, and sundry right evil wounded. But when he did remember, that his whole victory over the Douglas had sallen to him without any blood, or stroke of sword, through the Hamilton's leaving the earl of Douglas, he received him as a samiliar and tender friend; so, at the last, his son got the king's eldest daughter in marriage.

But when the earl of Douglas understood himself defert and left by many of his principal friends, by whose maintenance and affistance he had enterprized so high matters contrary the king's authority, he fled in England with his brother, to conquess some support to recover the thing that he loft; and thereafter, short while, he returned with an army of men, and came in Anandale, which was garnished with the king's men of war for the time; which men of war affembled together, and met JAMES DOUGLAS and his brother, with their affifters, and fought manfully contrary them, and put them to flight. In this battle was flain ARCHIBALD earl of Murray, with diverse other gentlemen, vageit men and commons. And GEORGE earl of Ormond, after that he was wounded and taken, and kept very straitly in prison till he was healed of his wounds; and thereafter brought to the king in Edinburgh, and beheaded for his rebellion. The earl himself and JOHN lord Balveny escaped very narrowly through a wood, wherein they fled for safety of their lives. It is said, that the first advertiser of this prosperous success brought with him ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS'S head, who was received by the king with great thanks.

After this unhappy battle, albeit JAMES Dov-GLAS was destitute of his brother, kindred and friends, nor yet had he great hope of any support of England; yet, not the less never diffiding of good fortune, he passed to DONALD lord of the isles and earl of Ross, being in Dunstaffage for the time; whom he knew, of his nature, to be proud and inclined to mischief and wickedness, and solisted him to assist to his rebellion, and found that his opinion beguiled him not; For this DONALD gathered a company of mifchievous curfed limmers, and invaded the king in every airth, wherever he come, with great cruelty, neither sparing old nor young, without regard to wives, old, feeble and decrepit women, or young infants in the cradle, which would have moved a heart of stone to commiseration; and burned villages, towns, and corns, so much thereof as might not goodly be carried away, by the great prize of goods that he took. After that he invaded Argyle in the same manner, with the isle of Arran, whereof, when he had gotten the castle by fraud and guile, he made it equal with the earth; and fyne he chased GEORGE bishop of the isles and of Argyle, and flew fundry of his friends and fervants, and himself escaped very narrowly, by fleeing to a strength. At last he past to Lochaber, and therefrom to Murray, where he invaded with no less cruelty than the rest before; and specially where there were any favourers of the king's authority. Attour, he destroyed the town and castle of Inverness, after that he had gotten

gotten into it by a deceitful subtilty. This he did not so much to please and gratify JAMES DOUGLAS, as he did rejoice to softer mischief, cruelty and wickedness, to which he was given allenarly, through the impiety of his own ingine.

When fuch civil war rang in Scotland, the king of England, perceiving a commodious opportunity to take advantage, as himself and his predecessors were wont to do, ever fince the first habitation of the isle of Britain, by either of thir two nations, commanded that his borders should break, and incursions should be made. The which was done as he commanded, without knowlege or expectation of the Scottish-men, who, having no suspicion of foreign nations, were spuilzied of their bestial, their corns, and houses burnt, and fundry gentlemen and commons hurt and slain for the defence of their goods and gear : So we perceive that England never forgot their old quarrels upon small or no regard, when they faw an apparent advantage to have been masters; and, by the contrary, they were fain to thig and cry for peace and good-will of Scottish men, when there was unity and concord amongst the nobles living under subjection and obedience of a manly prince. But albeit the king of Scotland perceived that the realm was so overgrown with civil wars, on the one part; and that it should be both shame and skaith to himself and the realm, on the other part, to thole fo high injuries without remeid; and therefore diffembled till a time more gaining to be revenged of their enemies.

At this time BEATRIX DOUGLAS, the maiden of Galloway, feeing nothing but wracks to come to her pretended husband JAMES DOUGLAS, fled to the king, crying, "Mercy for her offences, laying the

"crime upon James Douglas, and his wicked flatterers and affifters; who not only had filed her in the contracting of that ungodly marriage, but alfo, against her will, had forced her to the same: So she, being destitute of all good helpers and counsellers, could not goodly gainstand or resist so great a party; till now, having the opportunity (says she) of his absence to shee the society of a wicked and ungodly life, I came straightway to seek the king's majesty's safeguard, protection, and remission for the offences bygone, which was a crime committed rather of necessity than wilfully, or of set purpose."

The king, after that he had forgiven all offences, and received this gentlewoman in his favours, he married her to his brother JOHN earl of Athole, the Black Knight of Lorn's fon, and tochered her with the lord-

ship of Balveny.

When DONALD of the Isles his wife understood, that the king was so favourable to JAMES DOUGLAS'S wife, as ye have heard, she, in like manner, sled under his protection, and to eschew the cruel tyranny of her husband, which she dreaded at divers times before. The king, calling to remembrance that this noblewoman was married, by his own counsel, with DONALD of the Isles, he gave her therefore sufficient rents and lands, whereon she should live honourably conform to her estate.

Not long time after this, PATRICK THORNTON, one of the king's majesty's own court, but a favourer of the Douglasses faction, cruelly, without any ruth, slew John Sandilands of Calder, and Allan Stuart a nobleman, beside Dumbarton, because they were the king's majesty's adherents; which was

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not long unpunished: For the king made such diligence, till he apprehended both the tyrant and his complices, and put them to a shameful death as they deserved.

Short while after this, fundry of the nobles and great men deceased; such as WILLIAM earl of Errol and constable of Scotland, and GEORGE CREIGH-TON earl of Caithness; who being vexed long with great infirmity, because he had no fons to succeed to his place, he refigned the lands, which he got to him and his heirs male only, in the king's majesty's hands, feeing there was no life to him: For the lands should have fallen to the crown after his decease. Sir WIL-LIAM CREIGHTON, fometime chancellor, deceased the fame year; a man of great forelight, fingular manhood, and a faithful fubject, a ficker targe of the commonwealth unto his life's end, and ALEXAN-DER LINDS AY earl of Crawford, of whom mention is made before; in whose room DAVID his fon succeeded, one of the noblest of these days. Many other nobles and gentlemen, whose names are irksome to write.

Not long after, Sir HARRY PERCY earl of Northumberland, and JAMES DOUGLAS lately forfaulted, entered in the borders with a great army, both of Scottish and Englishmen, and wasted all with fire and sword wherever they came; till, at the last, the earl of Angus met them, with a company of chosen men, and put them to the slight: For, when both the armies most cruelly were sighting, with uncertain victory on every side, a great part of the Englishmen, not small of estimation, greedier for prey of gear, than careful of their honour and welfare of their lives, began to spuilzie and drive away their enemies goods, and lest their neighbours in battle, void of their support, which made an easy path-way to the Scottishmen that day to obtain the victory. In this battle many Englishmen were slain, to the number of threescore, beside these that were slain in the chase. Ten gentlemen taken captives, and sourscore Scottish-men were slain, with some captives, which were taken in the skirmishing before the shock of the battle.

When this victory was told to the king's majefty, and how that the English-men had wasted so much on the borders, without any occasion or break of him to England, he lamented forely, that the realm had been overthrown in itself with civil wars and discord, and himself so troubled day by day, that he might not goodly be revenged of their fakeless injuries and incurfions. Attour, it offended him most of all, that his enemies raged more in their infolence; and that he was compassed with rebellion on every hand; so that he could not enterprize to requite their invasions, without great loss of men and goods, and putting the realm in extreme danger and hazard of his enemies. And, in the mean time, when the king was musing most highly upon his purpose, DONALD earl of Ross and lord of the Isles fent messengers to his majesty, to be remitted of all rebellion and offences that he had done : Thinking well that the king was so merciful to the earl of Crawford, that he would be no lefs merciful to him; but yet would not put himself in peril, as Crawford did: And therefore fent one of his special friends, who obtained remission to him, partly through the king's own humanity, and partly by the request and intercession of the nobles of the realm. But yet the king's majesty handled the matter very crastily, and found the moyen how he would not openly and rlainly

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plainly forgive, at that present, the wicked and treafonable deeds of that wicked tyrant, nor yet he would make the messengers for to despair of their chief's remission, but answered them gently to hold them in hope, faying, " That the earl of Ross never deserved " at his hand, now to be remitted of his cruelty and " rebellion lately committed; yet, not the less, fee-" ing all men on earth, and especially kings and " princes that represent the very divine majesty of " God, (who also, of his excellent nature, receives " mankind to the bosom of his mercy, so soon as " he repents him of his fin, not for any good deed " that man may do to recompence him with) should " thirst no man's blood, but be gracious and merciful " to all men that are become penitent of their mif. " deed : yet because it pertains to God allenarly to " know the inward thoughts and hearts of men, and " that man's nature cannot perceive nor understand " further of another, than he may fee by outward " figns and tokens; and therefore he would that the " earl of Ross should do some notable act, where-" through all men might understand him to repent " intirely with his heart, before that he should receive " full remission of all offences. Attour, that the earl " of Ross should refund the skaiths for all the towns, " fortalices and houses that he either had burnt or " casten down; and, by that, restore and satisfy, at "the least, the whole goods and gear to every man, " which he had reft and taken away. This being " done, the earl should be remitted, with all his par-" takers and complices, of all offences bygone."

This being done, and put to rest, and a final end made of all sedition and civil discord in the north isses of Scotland, the king's majesty set his whole care and mind

mind to invade England, and either to be revenged, or else repaired of all oppressions and injuries committed without offence contrary his realm and lieges; and, to bring his purpose more easy to effect, he caused convene the nobility to a certain day, to confult and be refolved by what moyen it might be done most commodiously. But behold during the time of his convention, there came ambassadors from RI-CHARD duke of York, EDWARD MORTIMER earl of Warwick, and their confederate friends, to feek fupport of men of war contrary HENRY king of England, whom they purposed to depose of his royal dignity. For albeit this HENRY, through his own flothful negligence and wicked counsel, had lost France and Normandy, which his forebeers had conquest to his hand; yet, in fo high matters and desperate affairs, that most mistered the consultation of the greatest and noblest men, whom it behoved to spend their lives and lands for the recovering and defence thereof, he admitted nor called none fuch men to his council, but admitted and extolled flaves and men of fmall effate, by reason they could flatter him, and that was most delectable to his conceit; and he preferred them to the administration and governance of the commonwealth, before and above fuch nobles and gentlemen of the realm

manhood, the glory of England, martial deeds

* * * * * fpread through all the world, were moved to conspire and convene their felves to deprive him of the crown; and specially the noblemen descended of the king's house, to whom the just right of the crown of England, which befel

* * * * third fon to ED-WARD III. who was lawful heir to RICHARD II.

of his body were destroyed and put down by HENRY IV. So now, at this present, the duke of York, thinking that he had better occasion to recover the crown that HENRY IV. had to rave the fame from RICHARD II. and LEONEL's posterity, joined himself in this conspiracy of thir noblemen, by whose moven and affistance he purposed to recover his right and heritage. withholden from him and his forebeers. But because they were not equal, neither in riches nor power to the king, within himself, they fent to the king of Scotland for support, promising perpetual friendship; with great rewards, if they brought their purpose to effect. So, when thir ambassadors got presence of the king's majesty, in fight of the earls and lords convened for the time, the principal of them made this harangue and oration in manner following.

" How wicked and ungodly a thing it is, most in-" vincible and potent prince, to place an ignorant " in high estate and regiment of a country; (how " may it be that a man, that cannot guide himself, " shall wifely guide others) by the contrary, how " necessary it is that a wife and potent prince have " the ruling over a realm; we have the experience " of both in our days, by diverse manner of ways : " For all kings and nations, most redoubted prince, " marvel of thy craft and wifdom, who, being but a " young man, or rather a child, hath fet and put to " rest this realm of Scotland, without great slaughter " or effusion of blood, by an excellent wit and divine " providence, which, in thy minority, was wrecked " and divided by the feditions and factions of potent " men within the fame. So we must, of very force, " grant thy felicity and happy progress in all thy do-" ings,

" ings, before we enter to intreat of other matters : "Therefore we pray God, that thy prosperous begin-" ning may endure perpetually for ever. But our " king HENRY, O how unlike is he unto thy manners and conditions! And how far different from " thy usage in good government of the realm ! And " how doth he carry himself! It is no less unknown " to thy majesty than to us. For, by the ignorance of that man, infected and corrupted with the wic-" ked counsel of flatterers, not only is the flourishing renown of England supprest, and turned to scorn " and mockery; but also a great part of the empire " and dominion of France, yea, nothing inferior to " the realm of England, which was conquest by our " forebeers, is quate and loft. So, feeing it is fo, that " we are oppressed with slaves, which the king hath " promoted, (the nobles of the realm lightlied, and " fet aside from high dignity to base estate) who, be-" ing placed in fuch power and authority, have fuch " power over the nobility, that they dare not draw " their breath, much less justly to complain for any offence, or to give counsel what is best to be done " for the prefervation of the commonwealth, which " the nobles of the realm cannot fuffer longer; fee-" ing it is both contrary the commodity of a com-" monwealth; and also, being suffered, shall bring our realm to wreck, and the inhabitants thereof to " utter extermination : So it shall please you under-" fland, most victorious prince, that the nobles of " England take no unwonted nor new purpose now in " hand, in the depriving of him, and putting another in his place. For our noble progenitors and forebeers debarred HENRY III. his fon, called ED-" MOND CRUCKBACK, from the crown, because " he

" he was not so lusty, and of so gaining disposition " of his body, as was thought expedient for a prince, " to attempt such matters as were then ado; albeit " he was a man of good wit and fingular ingine, to " whom the title of the crown most justly apper-" tained. Nought the less, the realm of England, " having sharp wars in France, thought it to be exof pedient for the government of the people, and bear-" ing of the government above the army, to choose " a man, not only wife and prudent of spirit, but al-" fo that was lufty of body, manful, flout and hardy. " And, for this purpose, they seeing EDWARD, " younger brother to this man, of fingular courage. " of no less craft and wisdom than his brother Ep-" MOND, and, in beauty, more excellent, and above " all men within the realm with strongness and abi-" lity; the lords made him king, and debarred this " EDMOND. So our progenitors did prefer one per-" fon to another, even the youngest to the eldest. " and, debarring the eldest therefrom, chose the " younger. So it may appear how much is wisdom " commended above foolishness, in a person that " bears charge in a commonwealth. Attour, how " damnable it is to have an ignorant captain of war, " witless, and destitute of all good counsel. The un-" happy mischance will bear witness of the loss and " tinfel of the bounds of France, which was England's " before. And fuchlike, in peace, to have a foolish " prince, corrupted and led away with flatterers and " wicked counsel, not only understand we that is " dangerous, but also has vexed Scotland so long " with civil wars, as thou may have experience, " which have so oft been wasted and spuilzied, when " HENRY of England knew that thy majesty might not

" not goodly wait upon foreign wars: Wherefore we exhort your majesty to enarm yourself to this " effect, not only for our cause, but also rather for your own, and to revenge the injuries that Scot. " land has sustained; even to be revenged, I say, " upon the principal author of all mischief and opor pression: How honest and necessary therefore is " the ground and foundation of our purpose and in-" tentions, by thir reasons foresaid may be easily understood. Now, let us see how facilly this matter, " without flaughter or effusion of blood, may be brought to pass, if ye please to support us; which " we hope indeed (and what reward therefore shall be) which being declared, we shall shortly make an end. And first, I think it necessary to know of what " ftrength and power is the king of Scotland; and " fyne what is the matter we may do: And then I " believe the matter shall be manifest to us all. "When the realm of England did flourish in chival-" ry, and the whole bounds and dominions, which " our predecessors with their conquess did augment "thereto, were not diminished, our strength and power, without flattery, I say, was so excellent, " that no man of wholesome judgment but will grant " we had no part equal in Europe. And now, feeing " we loft the bounds within the realm of France, and fought help of Scotland, wherewith fome hope was " to recover the same again, without which we de-" fpair all utterly; in fo far, that if either of the face' tions within England might get support of any " foreign prince, the other eafily should be overcome. " Attour, there was never fedition nor discord, till " now of late, within the realm of England, but it toucheth all as one: But feeing all was fleuthed, " there

" there was no mischief could befal our king, but was " delivered unto us; and the whole nobility, fo long " irked and vexed with the tyranny of King HEN-" RY, to loofe themselves out of this yoke of thral-" dom, has taken purpose to surrogate RICHARD " duke of York in his royal place; for our faction " far furmounts the king's affistance, both in nobility " and wisdom. And albeit we doubt of the popular, " which apparently, to the eyes of men, favour the " king's party, yet we have experience, that they are " fo variable and facile, that they defire nothing more " than a great man that would begin the alteration of " the present estate: As may well be known by " HENRY of Ireland; when he gave the commons " to understand, that fince their liberty was reft from " them by the avaritious greediness of courtiers, for " the maintenance of their infolent folly and ambi-" tion, that he would punish and put an order to the " king and courtiers, if they would affift his enter-" prize; which was taken in hand by this HENRY's. " persuasion, as is manisest to this whole isle, and had " taken the effect, without doubt, if the subtile in-" gine and craft of the chancellor had not stanched the " fame; yea, in so far, that we now presently should " have had this matter, neither to begin nor to end. " Finally, that we may make an end of the thing that " we have begun, we come now, most renowned " prince, to thy majesty, to get support, promising " rich rewards therefore, which the duke of York, " and earl of Warwick, with the advice of the whole " nobility of their opinion, have commanded us to " promise to thy majesty, if thou wilt assist them; and " what bounds and lands your grace's progenitors " possessed and joysed sometime in Northumberland, " with

with Berwick, and all the fields adjacent thereto, for reward and recompence. And, last of all, a perpetual amity and friendship to be bound up be-

" twixt the two realms."

When the ambassadors had ended their harangue, on this manner, the king's grace caused him and his companions to remove them, until he had consulted upon an answer; and when the king had advised with the nobles, and the ambassadors come again, the king said on this manner.

" It is not unknown to us the just title that the " duke of York hath to the crown of England; but " the affistance of my realm should not be granted " temerariously; neither should the crown be taken " from a prince, who is, by universal consent, already " crowned, for a light cause, without great trial and " deliberation, and knowlege of the cause: But " that I refer to the wisdom and convention of the " nobility of England. And as for arms and forces, " be affured, that I have just cause to denounce war " to the king of England. First, seeing he did vex " my realm and lieges fakelefly with incursions, the " time when the same was perturbed with civil wars. " Then also, when I did feek redress, king HENRY " delayed to give an answer thereupon: Therefore, " if the duke of York, with the earls Warwick and " Salisbury, with the nobles of their faction, will keep " promise, they shall be assured, that my whole " Itrength and forces shall be ready to invade your " king's favourers with fire and fword, wherever I " come, and shall do my utter diligence to expel " king HENRY, and to restore the duke of York to " his own place. So,

So, when the ambassadors had received their answer, and faithful promise taken and given on every side, they departed, and reported the king of Scotland's answer to the duke of York and earl of Warwick.

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In this mean time the king of Scotland commanded. by open proclamation, all men to be ready at a certain day, with armour and victuals, to invade their old enemies with fire and fword: But behold the quiet flights of England. When the king was passing forward, as he had promised, to invade them, an Englishman met him by the way, who favoured the king of England most entirely, perfect in the Italian language, nourished and brought up all his days in lying, and fuborned by king HENRY, with bills and commiffions, as if he had been fent from the pope of Rome; and in his company a monk, who did counterfeit a marvellous gravity and holiness of life, as such men had well wont to do; and faid, " It was the pope's " command, that neither the king of Scotland, nor " none of his company, should pass any further to " invade England, under the pains of curfing and " censures of holy kirk : For, through the diffension, " fays he, of Christian princes, the Turks, most " damnable and cruel enemies of God's word, creep " in daily more and more in Europe; fo that, by " their tyranny, they have subdued a great part there-" of to their dominion and empire: Therefore let " all debates, strife and battle be set aside, and peace " be established among Christian men. It is also, said " he, decreeted, that all faithful men shall lay to " their shoulders for expelling of thir common enc-" mies, who would not only spoil them of their " worldly freedom and liberty, but also of the word

of God, which is the most precious thing on earth; and, to bring all discord, reigning now in the isle of

"Britain, the more easily to an end, there are other

" ambassadors (said he) sent, directed by-now from

" the pope, to cause all injuries committed by the king of England to be repaired; and also to agree

" all quarrels and diffensions betwixt the king of

" England and the duke of York."

King JAMES, believing nothing of any high deceit in these fraudulent sellows sayings, obeyed the charge, and skaled the army. But scarcely was he well come home, when he did perceive the crasty subtilty of his enemies, being devised by them contrary him. So, being come penitent of his sacile obedience, gathered a new army, and passed sorward upon his enemies.

In the mean time, the duke of York's army, whereof a great part came with the earl of Warwick, passed in arrayed battle contrary king HENRY, without any expectation of the Scottish mens coming. And, upon the other fide, the king's adherents met their enemies very stoutly, whose principal chistains, under the king, were the dukes of Somerfet and Buckingham, and the earl of Clifford. Shortly it was manfully foughten on both fides; but, at the last, the king's army was vanquisht and overcome, himself taken prifoner and had to London, and his three chiftains forefaid flain, with many nobles and gentlemen, by a great multitude of the commons. So, after this victory, when he was come to London, there was a convention; where the whole nobility agreed all upon that head, that their king should not be, at that time, deprived of his royal estate; but that his wicked counfellors and flatterers, as the very corrupters of good ingines, should be either put to death, or else sequestrate of

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questrate of his company, and banished off the realm. and himself to be put in sicker firmance till further consultation: For it appeared very unleisome to many of the council, not only to put hand in a living prince, but also to rave the honourable empire from the anointed of God, to whom the realm once had given their oath of fidelity: For, in fo doing, they should be compelled, as perjured mensworn people, to chuse another in his place: And therefore decreeted, that the duke of York should be but governor of the realm during the king's life-time. Now the earl of Warwick was made captain of Calais, which was then one of the authority amongst the Englishmen; and the earl of Salisbury great chancellor of the realm. And fo it was done till further conclusion might be had in all affairs.

In that mean time the king of Scotland invaded the king of England's favourers in the north, with all cruelty. And when he had won the town of Roxburgh, which the Englishmen then had garnished with men and munition, and cast the same to the ground, he sieged the castle thereof. And when he was most bufy and earnest in the pursuit thereof, ambassadors came from the duke of York and the earl of Warwick, with the rest of that faction, shewing the victory that was theirs, and to thank him for his goodwill and readiness, promising to do the like to his majesty, to bring to effect whenever it was needful; praying him to defift from the fiege, and not to molest the realm of England, feeing God granted victory to them, in fo far that they were malters of the realm; otherwise, that he would exasperate them of England to wrath and ire, who already would have invaded

ed the Scottish army, were not the greater obstacle and impediment.

The king answered, " that he was very glad of " their prosperous success of victory that had be-" fallen the duke of York, but did marvel how it " might be, that he could be offended, or the nobi-" lity of England, he doing nothing elfe but that " which they required most affectuously." Attour, he defired the promises to be fulfilled which were made to him. To the which was answered by the ambasfadors, " they had no command to give answer there-At the which the king was fo commoved " upon." that he refused their band and kindness all utterly, as unworthy of kindness and credit, but altogether falk and diffembled; and albeit they did vary and difcord in some affairs, yet they concorded altogether in trumpery and falshood; showing a fair countenance, with many pleasant words, in the beginning, when they required any thing under colour, fraud and guile And therefore faid to the ambaffadors on this manner. Albeit the duke and his conjured faction be proud " and infolent of the victory lately obtained, where-" through they disdain to keep their promise made " to me; yet, nevertheless, I will, by God's grace, " be revenged of all injuries done to me, my realm " and lieges, by England, as I had determined beof fore that thir ambaffadors folisted for this effect, not " knowing then their quiet deceit and fubtile fraud; and also shall be revenged of this injury, which is " most of all, in violating and breaking the folemned " oath and faithful promife that the faid ambaffadors " and men of war did promise in their names and be-4 half.

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So the ambassadors being departed with this answer. the king commanded the foldiers and men of war to affault the castle; but the Englishmen defended so valiantly within, that the fiege appeared to endure longer than was believed. So the king determined to compel them that were within the house, by long tarry, to render and give over. At the which time DONALD of the Isles, of whom we spake before, came to the fiege with a great company, all armed in the Highland fashion, with habergeons, bows and axes; and promised to the king, if he pleased to pass any further in the bounds of England, that he and his company should pass a large mile afore the rest of the hoft, and to take upon them the first press and dint of the battle. The king, after that he had received him with great humanity, answered, " That he would " use the nobles counsel in all the progress of wars;" rejoicing much that DONALD was fo ready to hazard himself and friends for defence of the king, and honour of the commonwealth. After this he bade him ftent his pavilion by himself, till further occasion ferved to do as he defired. This DONALD, obedient at command, after that he had taken the place, to him and his folks, that was deputed for them, fent out fundry companies of his men to spuilzie and herry the country about the camp, feeing the fiege lasted longer than the pursuers expectation was. For albeit a great part of the keepers of the house was perished and tint for hunger, and the rest straitly overset by the siegers; yet, not the less, they persevered so stoutly, without regard of all their adversaries, that the purfuers were almost tint with the long fieging; till ALEXANDER earl of Huntley's coming, who brought a great company of chosen men, which made the king

fo blyth, that he commanded to charge all the guns to give the castle a new volley. But while this prince, more curious than became him, or the majesty of a king, did stand nearhand the gunners, when the artillery was discharged, his thigh-bone was dung in two with a piece of a missiramed gun, that brake in shooting; by the which he was stricken to the ground, and died hastily. The which gritumly discouraged all his nobles, gentlemen, and friends that were standing about him; but commanded all that knew his missortune to hold their silence, and not to divulgate the same throughout the camp, in case it should discourage the soldiers and men of war, and that they should shamefully dissolve the siege.

But the queen, hearing of this mischief, took her young fon, called JAMES III. and with a flout courage, like to the Almains and Ghelders of whom the was descended, leaving off all womanly mourning, by all mens expectations, brought him to the hoft, and exhorted all who were true Scottish-men to continue the fiege, till either the castle should be rendred, or taken by force. " Lose not (faith she) with shame, " the time and labours which you have bestowed on " this fiege; neither let the loss of one man bereave " you all of your courage; and feeing this chance is " not known to the rest, bear ye a good countenance, " fo that no more may know the fame. Forward " therefore, my lords, (leaving off all womanly la-" mentation) and put an end to this honourable en-" terprize, facrificing rather the lives of your enemies, " than your own tears, to the ghost of your prince."

The captains partly encouraged hereby, partly ashamed to be overcome by the courage of a woman, resolving to go forward, took her son JAMES III. to

be their chiftain; and so siercely assaulted the castle, that the Englishmen, seeing no hope of relies, yielded the castle to the new king, being suffered to depart safe with bag and baggage. The castle was demolished, lest it might be a strength to the enemies thereafter. Which was done in August, the year of God one thousand sour hundred and threescore; and the thirtieth year of the age of King James II. and the twenty sourth year of his reign.

About this time there were many marvels which prognosticated the king's death. The night before his decease, there appeared a clear comet, even as it were a token of the hasty death of so great a prince.

In the year preceeding, there was a bairn which had both the kinds of male and female, called, in our language, a Scarcht; in whom man's nature did prevail: But because his disposition and portraiture of body represented a woman, in a man's house of Linlithgow, he associated in bedding with the goodman's daughter of the house, and made her to conceive a child. Which being divulgate through the country, and the matrons understanding this damsel deceived on this manner; and being offended that the monstrous beast should set himself forth as a woman, being a very man, they got him accused and convicted in judgment, for to be burnt quick for this shameful behaviour.

About this time there was apprehended and taken, for a most abominable and cruel abuse, a brigand, who haunted and dwelt, with his whole family and household, out of all men's company, in a place of Angus, called The Fiend's Den. This mischievous man had an execrable fashion, to take all young men and children, that either he could steal quietly, or take away by any other moyen, without the knowlege of the

people, and bring them home and eat them; and the more young they were, he held the more tender and the greater delicate. For the which damnable abuse he was burnt, with his wife, bairns and family, except a young lass of one year old, which was faved and brought to Dundee, where she was fostered and brought up: But, when she came to woman's years, she was condemned and burnt quick, for the same crime her father and mother were convicted of. It is faid, that, when this young woman was coming forth to the place of execution, that there gathered a great multitude of people about her, and specially of women, cursing and warying that the was fo unhappy to commit fo damnable deeds. To whom she turned about with a wood and furious countenance, faying, " Wherefore chide " ye with me, as I had committed an unworthy " crime? Give me credit, and trow me, if ye had " experience of eating of man's and woman's flesh, ye would think the same so delicious, that ye would " never forbear it again." And so, with an obstinate mind, this unhappy creature, without fign or outward token of repentance, died in the fight of the whole people, for her misdeeds that she was adjudged to.

About this time rang many cunning men, by whose labours and travel good letters flourished, which was almost perished by barbarous cruelty of the Gothes; such as LAURENTIUS VALLA, a gentleman of Rome, who did great good in the restitution of the Latin tongue to the old purity and ornateness, as his works yet do witness: Suchlike, FRANISCUS PHILELPHUS, and FRANCISCUS PETRARCHA, both singular orators; NICOLAUS PEROTTUS, who set his whole mind and study to abolish and put away the old rude manner of teaching, and to garnish and teach the youth, with eloquent languages, in all kind of sciences.

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KING JAMES III.

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JAMES II. unhappily slain in this manner forefaid, as we have shown, MARGARET his wife
continued at the siege, ever exhorting the lords and
barons to be stout in the pursuit of the said castle, and
never to pass from the same till it were win. To that
effect she brought her young son JAMES III. to remain
still with the lords at the said siege, till the said castle
was win. Though he was of tender age, and could
use no vassalage, nor seat of wars; yet his coming
encouraged so the people, that they forgot the dolorous death of his sather, and passed mansully to the
house, and wan the same, and justified the captain
only thereof. Secondly, cast down the said castle,
that it should not be an impediment to them afterward, by the holding of the Englishmen.

Soon after there was a convention fet at Scoon, where the queen mother, with the rest of the nobility, crowned her son James III. being of the age of seven years; and thereaster was delivered to bishop

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JAMES KENNEDY in keeping, to learn letters at the schools.

At this time GEORGE DOUGLAS, earl of Angus, was warden of the borders, and oft-times defended the same manfully; where-through he was made lieutenant, by the queen and council, to pass, with the whole body of the realm, in defence of the borderers. And, after a little while, the Humes gathered. and the Hepburns, with support of Lothian-men, and past to Wark, and cast it down; so that the English men defired peace with the Scots for fifteen years, which was granted to them by the counsel of bishop TAMES KENNEDY, who helped to govern the realm during his days: But the special cause of this tranquillity and peace in Scotland, was, because Englifhmen had civil wars among themselves, striving daily for the crown of England, betwixt the duke of York and king HARRY VI. who, in fhort time thereafter, defired a fafe conduct for his wife and his eldeft fon, and certain of his kin and friends, containing the number of a thousand men, for to remain a while in Scotland at his pleasure. Which conduct was granted unto him by the king and council, and was well received, and remained in the Gray-friers of Edinburgh fo long as he pleased.

Not long after the queen of England passed in France, because she was a French woman, and many of the nobles with her. And king HENRY, at this time, gave Berwick to the Scottish-men, for his support and entertainment that he had in Scotland that time.

In this time bishop JAMES KENNEDY guided the king and his council in good unity and peace, whereby the commonwealth flourished greatly. He founded founded a triumphant college in St. Andrews, called St. Salvator's college; wherein he made his lair very curiously and costly; and also he bigged a ship, called The bishop's berge. And when all three were complete, he knew not which of the three was costliest: For it was reckoned, by honest men of consideration being for the time, that the least of them cost ten thousand pounds sterling. So the three, being com-

plete, cost thirty thousand pounds sterling.

In this mean time HENRY VI. departed out of Scotland towards England; and shortly thereafter was taken by king EDWARD, and put in prison. At this time the king of France fent a captain, called PETER BRICE, with certain support to king HARRY: But, ere ever he came, he was taken by king EDWARD, and put in prison. Therefore the faid captain, hearing that the king was put in prison, took a castle in the north of England, called Anwick, and there thought manfully to defend himfelf, till he got support. But EDWARD, the new king, hearing of his intent, caused a greater army to come hastily and siege him. The faid captain, knowing no relief to come to him hastily, fent to the council of Scotland, defiring them to relieve him, or to skale the siege; promising to them to cause the king of France, his master, redeem to them the costs, skaiths and damages sustained by them in . the faid cause. Incontinent, GEORGE earl of Angus, warden of the borders, and great lieutenant for the time, raifed a great number of Scottish-men, to the number of twenty thousand, to wit, ten thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen; and when he was near-hand the faid castle, he chused out ten thoufand of the best of his army, and past to the faid castle on fwift horse, as it had been a fray, and gart the rest

of his army come in fight of the said castle in arrayed battle, as a steill in adventures, in case the English should give battle. But the Englishmen were so a fraid at the sudden coming of the Scots, that they skaled their siege, and gave them way, while he relieved the said captain of France safely, and brought him to Scotland, and there put him to liberty to pass to

France, as he pleased with his company.

The year of God, one thousand four hundred and fixty three, MARGARET queen of Scotland, daughter to the duke of Guelders, departed at Edinburgh, and was buried in the Trinity-college, which she founded herself after the decease of IAMES II. her husband. This queen MARGARET was very wife and virtuous in her husband's time : But, soon after his death, she knowing herself to be a regent and guider of the realm, feeing all men to obey her and none to controul her, she became to be leacherous of her body, and took ADAM HEPBURN of Hales, who had a wife of his own, and committed adultery with him; which caused her to be lightlied of all the nobility of Scotland, that she saw so many noblemens fons and barons free of marriage, and would not defire one of them to have satisfied her lust, but took another wife's husband to fatisfy her greedy appe. tite.

The same year ALEXANDER duke of Albany, and brother to king JAMES III. was sent to France to learn the leed, with other letters, directed by JAMES KENNEDY bishop of St. Andrews. The said ALEXANDER and his ship were both taken by the Englishmen; who were suddenly delivered by supplication of bishop JAMES KENNEDY: For the said bishop JAMES promised to the council of England, that there should

should no peace be kept, if the said ALEXANDER and his ship were not delivered immediately. The which was done at his desire; for the Engishmen had such civil wars among themselves, that they durst not break peace with Scotland.

In the year of God one thousand four hundred and feventy fix, bishop JAMES KENNEDY departed out of this present life, and was buried at the city of St. ANDREWS, in the college which he founded himself. This bishop JAMES KENNEDY, in his days, was wondrous godly and wife, and was well learned in divine sciences, and practifed the same to the glory of God, and commonweal of the kirk of God: For he caused all parsons and vicars to remain at their parish-kirks, for instruction and edifying of their flocks; and caused them to preach the word of God unto the people, and to visit them when they were fick. And also the said bishop visited every kirk within his diocese four times in the year, and preached to the faid parochin himself the word of God truly, and required of the faid parochin, if they were duly instructed in the word of God by their parson and vicar; and if their facraments were duly administered unto them by the parson and vicar aforesaid; and if the poor were sustained; and the youth brought up and learned conform to the order that was taken in the kirk of God. And where he found not the fame order kept, he made great punishment, to the effect, that God's glory might shine through the country in his diocefe; giving good example to all archbishops and kirk-men, to cause the patrimony of God's kirk to be used to the glory of God, and to the commonweal of the poor. Farther, he was a man well learned in the civil laws, and had great practice in the fame: F 4

fame; where, by ingine, letters and practice, long use and years, he knew the nature of the Scottish-men, fo that he was most able of any lord in Scotland, spiritual or temporal, to give any wife counfel, or an answer. when the time occurred, before the prince or the council: and specially in the time of parliament, or when the ambassadors of other countries came for their affairs. there was none so able as he to give them answer, conform to their petition and defires of their masters. Or when any affairs or troubles that occurred in the realm, and specially lese-majesty, he was also practifed in the For he gave counsel to king James II. when he was ready to depart out of Scotland for fear of the earl of Douglas, who had gathered against him to the number of forty thousand men, ready to give him battle, or else to chase him out of the realm. Notwithstanding, this noble bishop, seeing this noble prince desolate of counsel, and desperate of any hope of success of victory to fall to him in contrary his enemies, caused this noble prince JAMES II. come to him to St. Andrews, ere his departure, and there gave him fuch counsel, as after follows. That is to fay, he led him to a quiet orature, and defired him to make his supplication to Almighty God, that he would open his eyes and his heart, that he might have knowlege and wisdom to danton and punish the conspirators, which were rifen against him, contrary the laws of God and man, and also the commonwealth of the country. When they had both ended their oration and prayers to Almighty God, the holy bishop beginneth to let this noble prince fee a fimilitude, the which might bring him to experience and comfort, how he might evade the uproar of the conspirators; and in special against the earl of Douglas and the rest of his compli-

ces. The bishop puts forth a great sheaf of arrows. knit together in a whang of leather, and gave them to the king in his hands, and bade him fet them to his knee and break them. The king answered and faid. " It was impossible, because there were so many of " them together of the faid arrows, and knit fo fast " together with leather, that no man could break " them at once." The bishop answered, " That was ' true, but yet he would let the king see that he " would break them;" and pulled out one by one, or two by two, till he had broken them all; and faid to the king, "You must do in the same manner " with your barons that have rifen against you, which " are fo many in number, and knit fo faft together in " conspiracy against you, that you can no ways get " them broken, but by fuch practice as I have flewn " you by the similitude of the arrows; this is to fay, " you must conquess and break lord and lord by him-" felf; for you must not deal with them all at once. " And further, make a proclamation out-through the " realm, to all thieves and traitors that have offended " against you, and grant them free remission to be " good men in time coming, and now to ferve your " grace, at this inftant time, in your necessity. The " which being done, I trust your grace shall get more " favourers than shall your contrary party."

The king, hearing this wife counsel, took courage, and made proclamations, as foresaid, in all the parts of his realm, to the effect foresaid. He put up his banner in St. Andrews, and past to Falkland the first night in arrayed battle. On the morrow he went to Stirling, accompanied with this noble bishop JAMES KENNEDY, with all the lords of Fise, Angus, and Strathern, and remained in Stirling, till the north

parts of Scotland came to him, which were in number with the king thirty thousand. Thereafter, awfully. with displayed banner, came forward against the earl of Douglas, who was in camp of battle on the fouth fide of the water of Carron, three miles from the Torwood, with the number of forty thousand men, thinking no less in his mind than he should be party to the king, and give him battle, or elfe to cause him leave the realm. But on the other fide, bishop JAMES KENNEDY used a crafty moven to break the earl of Douglas's army, and fent a fecret fervant of his own to JAMES HAMILTON of Cadyow, who was principal captain to the earl of Douglas at this time, and had three hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen at his government, upon the earl of Douglas's expences, to charge and pass wherever he pleased: vet the faid Sir JAMES HAMILTON, being advertifed by his eame, bishop JAMES KENNEDY, of the king's good mind and favour towards him, which he purchased to him by his moyen, showing to him, if he would return and leave the earl of Douglas at that time, and come and ferve the king's grace, he should have a full remission of all things bygone, and great reward in time to come. The which he obtained, as. after follows : Notwithstanding this, Sir JAMES HA-MILTON having a kindly love to the earl of Douglas. and a respect to his own honour, pondered the cause in his own mind; thinking that he would effay the earl of Douglas's mind in the faid cause, what he was purposed to do at that time, howbeit he knew the matter was unjust both against God and his native Therefore his conscience moved him to be prince. delivered, at that time, of that unhappy fervitude, contrary the weal of the country. He passed to the earl

earl of Douglas incontinent, and enquired of him what was his mind, if he would give the king battle, or not: Shewing to him, the longer he delayed he would be the fewer in number; and the king was ever the more able against him. The faid earl answered to JAMES HAMILTON, faying, " If he was tyred, " he might depart when he pleafed." Of the which answer the faid IAMES was well content; and that fame night, passed to the king, where he was well received and thankfully, and all things remitted bypaft. That fame night, the rest of the gentlemen and barons feeing the departure of JAMES HAMILTON, took fuch a fear, that every man patied his way; fo that, on the morrow, the earl of Douglas was not a hundred men by his own house; who, seeing this, took purpole, and haltily fled in Anandale, where he was foon thereafter vanquished by a band of men of war of the king's: And fo this prince obtained great victory and peace, without any flaughter of his lieges at that time, and that through the counfel of this holy bishop. Many other good acts he did in his time, both to the glory of God, and to the commonweal and advancement of his native country. So we will let him rest with God, and return again to our purpose.

In the year of our Lord, one thousand sour hundred and seventy one, king JAMES III. being of the age of twenty years, taketh to wife, MARGARET, the king of Norway's daughter, (otherways the king of Denmark) and got with her, in tocher-good, the lands of Orkney and Shetland, with all right, and title of right to them, pertaining to the king of Norway at that time. This marriage was solemnized at Edinburgh, the gentlewoman being but twelve years

at that time.

The king being married with all solemnity, and having this realm in peace, and the commonwealth thereof flourishing; yet, notwithstanding, in short time thereaster, he was brought in great cumber; partly by his own insolency, and otherwise by the conspiracies of his own lords and barons against him,

as after follows, as ye shall hear.

This prince had two brothers; the eldeft, called ALEXANDER duke of Albany and earl of March, was very wife and manly, and loved nothing fo well as able men and good horse, and made great cost and expences thereon; and, for his fingular wisdom and manhood, he was esteemed, in all countries, above his brother the king's grace: For he was fo hardy and manly with the lords and barons of Scotland, that he was holden so in estimation, that they durst never rebel against the king, so long as he rang in peace and rest with his brother the king's grace: For he was hardy, manly and wife, that they stood more in awe of him, than of the king's grace, for his manhood. This ALEXANDER was of mid stature, broadshouldered, and well proportioned in all his members, and specially in his face, that is to fay, broad-faced, red-nofed, great-eared, and of very awful countenance, when he pleased to shew himself unto his unfriends. But the king's grace, his brother, was far different from his qualities and complexions: For he was one that loved folitariness and defert, and never to hear of wars, nor the fame thereof; but delighted more in music and policies of bigging, than he did in the governance of his realm. He was also wondrous covetous in conquesting of money, rather than the hearts of his barons; and he delighted more in finging and playing upon instruments, than he did in the defence of the

the borders, or administration of justice; the which at length caused him to come to ruin, as ye shall hear hereaster following. But we return to the third brother, John earl of Mar, who was young, fair and lusty, and one of high stature, fair and pleasant-saced, gentle in all his behaviours and manners; and knew nothing but nobility, using much hunting and hawking, with other gentlemanny past-time and exercises, with other knightly games, as, entertaining of great horses and mares, whereof the off-spring might flourish, so that he might be staked in times of wars. But with the same we will return to our history.

ALEXANDER, duke of Albany and earl of March. for his fingular manhood and wildom, he was cholen captain of Berwick, and lieutenant of our whole borders; and had in his hand, at that time, the castle of Dumbar, with the living thereof, pertaining to the earl Notwithstanding, ALEXANDER lord of March. Hume, otherwise lord Chamberlain, had many of thir lands into his hands, in uptaking the mails and rents thereof, by reason of his office given to him in king TAMES II. his time; therefore would not fuffer the tenants thereof to make answer, to the faid ALEX-ANDER duke of Albany, of the faid mails, rents and profits thereof, with his good-will; but believed afterwards, with fuch crafty means, to use the same to his own pleasure. But the faid ALEXANDER, duke of Albany, commoved with the fame, spared not to ride the ground-bounds and lands of the faid earldom of March, and there uptake the faid profits and duties at his own pleasure. Notwithstanding the lord Hume. nor none of his friends in the faid action, might never in noways be party unto him, because he was both captain of Berwick, and had all the Merse at his command

mand and obedience; and also he had the castle of Dumbar, and many of the gentlemen of that country to sortify him in his just cause, because he was the second person of Scotland.

That same year the queen bore a son, thereafter was called JAMES IV. Notwithstanding the Humes were very ill discontent at his proceedings, cast all the ways and means they might, to keep themfelves in possession of the rooms and rents, which they were in use and possession before of uptaking thereof, as chamberlain to the king's grace: And, to that effect, to fortify their cause, they banded with the Hepburns, to make their party good against the said ALEXAN-DER duke of Albany: But, nevertheless, their labour was all in vain; because their action was not good nor just, he prevailed ever, at all times, against them, when they met. If he had been thirty, and they threescore, yet he would have given them battle; and ofttimes warred them, and chafed them to their hold: has slice out verser

Then the Humes and Hepburns, feeing they nothing could prevail against this nobleman, devised among themselves a crasty mean, whereby they might cause his brother the king's grace to be discontent with him: Knowing well, if they had the king broken from the said his brother, in this case, they thought to rule the king's grace as they pleased: And, to this effect, sought all the occasion that they might to bring their putpose to effect; till, at the last, they saw a new courtier start up, called Cochran, who had, at that time, great preheminence and authority in court, and audience of the king, and ruled all matters and actions, as he pleased, to them that would give him buddes and gear for his labour. The Humes and

the Hepburns, feeing this man, Cochran, have fo great credit of the king, thinking nothing better than to make their moven with him, they gave him great fums of money to fortify and maintain their cause against the duke of Albany, who haltily promifed to take their parts in all things debateable betwixt them and the duke of Albany, and his brother the earl of Mar : For the faid Gochran confessed to them, that he was in no less fear or dread of the duke of Albany and his brother, than they were themselves : Therefore he was the more willing to confent to their opinion and promifed to them, if he might find the time convenient, he should bring their purpose to effect; and departed from them, and was into the court, and daily laboured, with all his ingine, to bring the king at discord with his brother. He travelled and labour. ed long ere ever he could find any effect to bring his purpose to pass: For the king loved his brethren so well, that he would not trow any wrongous narration of them, nor give credence to no man that fpake evilof them; till, at the last, this Cochran, seeing that, by no way, he could break the king from his brethrens he caused a witch with him come, and pronounce to the king, that he should be suddenly slain with one of the nearest of his friends and kin. Of the which the king was very afraid, and defired of the witch, how the had that experience of him, or if any man had caused her to speak the same. She answered, she had the revelation thereof by a familiar spirit. And then the king began to be altonished, and daily afraid of thir new tidings, conjecturing and moving in his mind whom this should be. But at the last took the sufpicion in his mind of his brethren, that he conjectured. it should be they should perform this prophecy that

the witch had spoken; because he had no bairns of his own, at that time, of age to do fuch things as were pronounced; and therefore he concluded wholly with himself, that it should be his brethren should do him that mischief: And thereupon he grew in such sufpicion and hatred against them, that he might, on no ways, take rest, because they were nearest of kin to the king, as the witch faid; but ever enquiring of Cochran, and the rest of his unhappy counsellers, who augmented him daily in that suspicion towards his brethren. But when thir tidings of the king's fuspicion came abroad through the country, and also came to the ears of the Humes and the Hepburns, they were heartily content of thir novels, trufting to be relieved by that way, of their enemies, the duke of Albany and his brother: Therefore they made them to the court, and flattered the king and courtiers, flowing their opinion of the king's fuspicion, faying, " That they thought all of verity that the king had " conjectured in that matter towards his brethren." Till, at the last, there grew such mortal feud within the king's breaft, toward his brethren, that he could no ways be content to let them live in peace and reft, but fakelefly, in his heart, condemned them both to the death, and that by the persuasion of this false flatterer, Cochran, and the enticements of the Humes and Hepburns, which were the fortifiers of Cochran in that cause, by their persuasion, giving to him great gifts of gold and filver therefore. And, at the last, the king fent for his brethren, the duke of Albany, and the earl of Mar, to come to Edinburgh to him, in all possible haste, for such things as he had to do with them at that time: But the king's mind and purpose was, to destroy them immediately after their coming. But.

But, notwithstanding, the duke of Albany was furely advertised by his friends of the king's malice; and therefore would not compear for the king's writing: but fled to his own castle of Dumbar, till he saw farther in the matter. But the earl of Mar, unadvertised hereof, came obediently to his brother, the king's grace; who was hastily thereafter murdered and slain in the Canongate in a bath-fat; by whose persuasion, or for what cause, I cannot tell. But the king's grace, foon after, came to Dumbar, to have had his brother the duke into his hands: But the duke, advertised of his coming, fled out of his faid castle, and lest men to keep it, and fled himself to Berwick, and remained there till he heard farther tidings. The king hearing of his departure and absence, sent certain noblemen to the castle of Dumbar, and required the same to be delivered to the king and his captains, which obediently was rendered at the king's pleasure. This being done, the king past to Edinburgh, and there remained a while at his pleasure, void of all fear, dread or danger, which he suspected before to come by prophecy of the witch; and also past his time with flatterers in all parts of Scotland, at his pleafure, thinking then that there was no man that had him at that time at envy, but he might fafely persevere in his pleasure as he thought best.

In this time Cochran grew so familiar with his grace, that nothing was done in court without him; and all men, that would have had their business drest with the king's grace, came to Cochran, and made him forespeaker for them, and gave him large money to dress their business. Therethrough he became so rich and puissant, and of such substance, that no man might strive with him. But he knowing the king's nature,

that he was covetous upon money, and loved them better that gave him money, than they that took from him; for the which cause the said Cochran gave the king large sums of money; wherethrough he obtained the earldom of Mar from the king, and was possessed in the fame; and ever clamb higher and higher in court, till that he had no peer nor comparison, of no lord of Scotland, spiritual or temporal, into the king's favour. Whatever was done in court or council with the king, nothing was done or concluded but by him; nor no man durst fay that his proceedings were wicked or evil, or unprofitable for the commonweal, but he would have his indignation, and cause punish him for the same. He had such credence of the king, that he gave him leave to strike money of his own, as if he had been a prince. And when the people would have refused the faid money, which was called a Cochran-plak, and faid it would be cried down; he answered and said, " That day he would be hanged " that they were cried down." Which shortly thereafter fell out as he prophefied, as ye shall hear: For this Cochran had fuch authority in court, and credence of the king, that no man got credence or audience of the king but by his moyen. So all that would elteem him, or flatter him, or give him gear, their matters were dreffed according to their own pleafure, whether it were just or unjust, or against the commonweal, all was alike unto him: For he cared not the welfare of the realm, or the honour, fo that he might have his own fingular profit, and estimation in court. So he abused this noble prince, that none was received in court, nor no kind of offices but they that would obey him, and be of his faction. So, by this means, the prudent lords counfel was refused, and their their sons were absent from the king's service: For no man durst come to serve the king, but he that was a flatterer of Cochran, and thought all things well done that he counselled the king to do. By this way the king tint many of the hearts of the lords of Scotland, and also of their sons and brethren, that were young men, who sain would have served the king's majesty, but they could get no place for this Cochran and his company; nor no casualty could fall to the king in Scotland, but it was disponed by the advice of this Cochran, and not by counsel of the lords of parliament, neither spiritual nor temporal.

The which proceedings moved the lords of Scotland to fall from the king, and fet their intent to find remedy to the fame; which made a convention among themselves, and there to consult how they might best bring the king to defend his realm in justice and equity, whereby the commonweal might flourish, and the king's honour not diminished; and to put such noblemen about him to ferve, as were convenient for fuch a prince; whereby virtue might be maintained, and vice punished; whereby he might win the favour of his lords and barons, and bring his realm in fuch peace and rest as his father left it to him. And, upon this conclusion, the lords fent a wife man to the king, declaring their minds to him in manner and form as af-That is to fay, they defire the king's ter follows: grace, " To leave young counfel and unhonest, which " looked not to the king's honour, and the common-" weal of the country, nor to the administration of " justice; but to their particular profits. And defired " him, to leave all fear and dread, and put suspicion " out of his heart towards his nobles; and take the " counsel of his wife lords, how he should rule him-" felf

" felf in the government of his realm, and in the ad-" ministration of justice, and defence against enemies, " and maintaining of his commonwealth. And if his " grace would use their counsel in this manner, they " would all live and die with him in defence of his " honour, and commonwealth of the country. And " if he would not incline to their counsel in this " manner, they took God to witness, that they should " be guiltless of the misgovernment of the realm; " and the charge should lye to him, both before God " and man, that they should be declared innocent, if " any mischief fell, at that time, in the country." The king answered to their petition, saying, " He " had no counsel in the government of his realm, " but lords counfels as they were: And, as to his " company, they pleased him for the time, because " he could fee or perceive, at that time, no better for " him: And let them to understand, that he would " not put a man forth of his company for their plea-" fure; for he believed that they were trufty and true " that ferved in his company; and he could not be-" lieve them, because ever, when the one half of " them was against him, the other half was with him, " and of his opinion. Yet, notwithstanding, he pro-" mifed, when the whole lords were convened toge-" and concluded in one voice, he would be content " to use their counsel in all things, and specially in " defence of his realm, and liberty thereof."

The lords, hearing this answer of the king's, were not half well content of the same; but yet they bore sair till they saw their time, knowing they could do nothing more in the matter, till they were together in the fields in camp or battle. To that effect some of them caused the borders to be broken, and other some

fome lye still, and make no defence; wherethrough came great reif and herryships in all countries, and great slaughter betwixt England and Scotland; wherethrough the land was so wasted by England, and by the thieves of Anandale, that nothing was plenished into Edinburgh.

When the lamentation and cries of the poor came before the king, he was heavily commoved, and caufed to make proclamation through the realm, and to all and fundry his lieges, earls, lords, barons and free-holders, and all fubstantial gentlemen, yea, and all manner of men betwixt fixty and fixteen, as well spiritual as temporal, to compear and assemble upon the Borrow-muir of Edinburgh, in their best array, with forty days victual, to pass forward with the king where he pleased, in desence of the realm.

The English-men, hearing of thir proclamations, made great provision for the same, thinking that they would defend themselves and their borders contrary the Scots at that time; for they had to their lieutenant and chistain, the duke of Gloucester, who was their principal counsellor, and great lieutenant to EDWARD the new king.

Notwithstanding, the Scottish camp came pertly forward at the king's commandment unto the place that was appointed, that is to say, upon the Borrow-muir, convened the whole number of lords, barons, and great men and borrows, sifty thousand sighting men, by carriage-men and borderers. The king took certain artillery with him out of the castle of Edinburgh, and made Cochran, earl of Mar, convoyer of the same, and past forward to Sowtry the sirst night; and, on the morn, past to Lawder, and there planted down his pallions betwixt the kirk and the

town, and there abode that night. While, on the morn, all the whole lords of Scotland convened in the kirk of Lawder to a council, and there to confult what was best to be done, for the common weal of the realm. and defence of the borders; or if they should pass with the king, at his pleasure, at that time. Some wife and antient lords answered and said, " He was " not their king, nor guided not by them, nor their " counsel, but made fellows, masons, to be lords and " earls in the place of noblemen; that is to fay, he " hath banished the noble duke of Albany, his bro-" ther, and hath forfeited and slain the earl of Mar, " his other brother, and hath made Cochran, that " was but a mason, to fulfil his room; wherewith " they could not be contented till they had fuch " things reformed."

Upon this they chused out some wise lords, to the number of twenty sour; that is to say, the earl of Angus principal of the council, lord Evendale, who was chancellor for the time, the earls of Argyle, Huntley, Orkney, Crawford and Bothwell; the lords Hume, Fleming, Gray, Drummond and Seton, with certain bishops; the which lords convened foresaid, and had advised ripely in this cause. They concluded whole, with one voice, that the king should be taken softly, without harming of his body, and convoyed, with certain gentlemen, unto the castle of Edinburgh, to remain there till they saw further; and, in the mean time, to take Cochran, the earl of Mar, and all the lave of the king's familiars, and immediately hang them over the bridge of Lawder.

By this was advised and spoken by thir lords forefaid, Cochran, the earl of Mar, came from the king to the council, (which council was holden in the kirk

of Lawder for the time) who was well accompanied with a band of men of war, to the number of three hundred light axes, all clad in white livery, and black bends thereon, that they might be known for Cochran the earl of Mar's men. Himself was clad in a ridingpie of black velvet, with a great chain of gold about his neck, to the value of five hundred crowns; and four blowing horns, with both the ends of gold and filk, fet with precious stones. His horn was tipped with fine gold at every end, and a precious stone, called a beryl, hanging in the midft. This Cochran had his heumont born before him overgilt with gold: and fo were all the rest of his horns; and all his pallions were of fine canvas of filk, and the cords thereof. fine twined filk; and the chains upon his pallions were double overgilt with gold.

This Cochran was fo proud in his conceit, that he counted no lords to be marrows to him, therefore he rushed rudely at the kirk-door. The council enquired who it was that perturbed them at that time. ROBERT DOUGLAS, laird of Lochlevin, was keeper of the kirk-door at that time, who enquired who that was that knocked fo rudely; and Cochran answered, " this is I, the earl of Mar," The which news pleafed well the lords, because they were ready bound to cause take him, as is afore rehearsed. the earl of Angus past hastily to the door, and with him Sir ROBERT DOUGLAS of Lochlevin, there to receive in the earl of Mar, and so many of his con plices who were there, as they thought good. And the earl of Angus met with the earl of Mar as he came in at the door, and pulled the golden chain from his craig, and faid to him, " A tow would fet him better." Sir ROBERT DOUGLAS fyne pulled the blowinghorn

horn from him in like manner, and said, "He had been the hunter of mischief over long." This Cochran asked, "My lords, is it mows or earnest?" They answered and said, "It is good earnest, and so thou shalt sind: For thou and thy complices have abused our prince this long time, of whom thou shalt have no more credence, but shall have thy reward according to thy good service, as thou hast deserved in times bypast; right so the rest of thy followers."

Notwithstanding the lords held them quiet, till they caused certain armed men to pass into the king's pallion, and two or three wife men to pass with them, and give the king fair pleafant words, till they laid hands on all the king's fervants, and took them and hanged them, before his eyes, over the bridge of Lawder. Incontinent they brought forth Cochran. and his hands bound with a tow, who defired them to take one of his own pallion-tows, and bind his hands: for he thought shame to have his hands bound with fuch tow of hemp, like a thief. The lords answered, " He was a traitor, he deferved no better." And, for despight, they took a hair-tether, and hanged him over the bridge of Lawder, above the rest of his complices; and made a proclamation, and cried down his cunzie; which fulfilled his own prophecy forefaid: That he might be example to all fimple mean persons not to climb so high, and intend so great things in court, as he did: For, at his beginning, he was but prentice to a mason; and, within few years, he became very ingenious in that craft, and bigged many stone-houses with his hands in the realm of Scotland : And, because he was cunning in craft, not long after the king made him master-mason; and, after this, Cochran

Cochran clamb so high, higher and higher, till he came to this fine, as is rehearsed.

The king was taken captive himself, and was had to the castle of Edinburgh, by the convoy of his lords, and none escaped that was of his company, I mean his secret servants or cubiculars, but were hanged; except a young man called John Ramsay, who was saved by the king's request; who, for resuge, lap on the horse behind the king, to save his life. This Sir John Ramsay was laird of Balmain, and afterwards treasurer of Scotland. This act was done in the year of God, one thousand four hundred and eighty one, in August.

And, after this a long time, the king remained still in the castle of Edinburgh as captive, and had certain lords in company with him, that took heed and kept him, and ferved and honoured him as a prince ought to be: For he was not put there as a prisoner, but for the maintaining of the commonweal. They gave him liberty to use directions, and all gifts of casualties and properties of his realm, at his own pleafure: For nothing was derogate from him, that pertained to him by reason of his authority. And letters of commandments and proclamations were made and given in his name, like as they were before at his inputing; nor no other regent nor governor chosen in that mean But every lord, within his own bounds, was fworn to minister justice, and to cause steuth, reif and flaughter to be punished within themselves, or else to bring the doers of the same to the king's justice to Edinburgh, to be punished, or else to answer for the crimes themselves, to be holden doers of the same.

By this way there was some peace and rest in the country, the space of three quarters of a year; till, at

last, the king would been out of the castle, at his liber. ty, as he was before; notwithstanding he could, on no ways, obtain his purpose at his pleasure, but if he would bind himself unto the lord's counsel that were his inputters, and give them pledges therefore, and observe and keep the same; which he, on no ways, would do. Some that were fecret friends to him came and gave him counsel, to speak with the earl of Douglas, who was captive in the castle of Edinburgh at Thir faid friends defired the king to take the earl of Douglas in his favour, and remit all things bygone, and restore him unto his lands again, who was forfaulted before a long time: Shewing the king, that if he would bear with him, at this time, that the earl of Douglas was able to fortify and defend him, and to bring him to that purpose that he would have been Notwithstanding the king was very glad of his counsel, and defired to speak with him; who was brought incontinent to intercommune with him about the faid matter. But the earl of Douglas was fo high on the other part, and prefumptuous in his own mind, that he gave the king no due reverence as he ought to have done, but high and prefumptuous words; which became him not to have given his prince at that time, confidering his subjection and captivity: Therefore the king thought him so proud in his answering, that they parted worse friends than they met. And the king made a fingular vow, that he should never be relieved out of the castle of Edinburgh, if he might keep him into it: For, by his proud fpeaking, he was liker to be a king than he. And the king feared him as much as any of the rest, if he had been at liberty. So he left him in this manner, and communed no more with him; and shewed him, that gave him

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him the counsel, the whole manner, who was very discontent at the same. But some gave counsel to send to his brother, the duke of Albany, a samiliar letter, declaring to him the cause how it stood, desiring him to pass to EDWARD of England, the new king, desiring support of him and his council, whereby he might be relieved out of the said castle of Edinburgh, and to be avenged on his inputters; promising, if any such things occur in England toward king EDWARD, he should be ready, with all his power, to his support,

Thir letters were directed immediately to the duke of Albany, his brother, who was then in Berwick for the time, and received the king's writing very thankfully, requiring, of the king and council of England, the fame support to his brother, as his writing made

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The king and council of England, being advised thereupon, denied any support to be given to the king of Scotland, without they wist wherefore; because they had charged him fundry times for support, and got none: Notwithstanding, would the king of Scotland be content to render Berwick again unto them. they would grant him fuch support that would relax The duke of Albany answered and said, " He " had no commission in that manner; but promised " that he should shew his brother the king of Eng-" land's defire and his counsel, and bring answer there-" upon." And, shortly after this, the duke of Albany writ to his brother the king of Scotland, shewing him the answer and mind of the king and council of England, " And that they defired the town of Berwick to " be rendered again, betwixt year and day, in English-" mens hands; and if the king of Scotland would " promise G 2

" promife to do the fame, at the terms forefaid, and

of fend his great feal thereupon, they would inconti-

" nent grant to all his defires: That is to fay, to fet him at liberty, and make him to have power

"to punish whom he pleased, that had transgressed

" against him. Providing always that the king of Scot.

" land would deliver to them certain pledges till the

" faid town of Berwick was rendered."

This matter pleased well the king of Scotland, say. ing, " If all England were his, he had rather render " it, than to be holden in captivity with his own." And, to this effect, he sent to his brother, the duke of Albany, to grant their desires, and to promise the same to the council of England; and sent four lords sons in pledges of the same.

The duke of Albany received his brother's commission and the pledges foresaid, and thereaster past to London to the king of England, and council thereof, and shewed him how he had sped, and promised the king, that all his desires should be granted; and shewed him the king of Scotland's commission under the great seal, and delivered him the pledges for ob-

fervation of his promife.

Upon the which the king of England was very well content, and received the duke of Albany's pledges thankfully, and treated them well: And incontinent thereafter caused the duke of Gloucester, his great lieutenant, with ten thousand chosen men, to pass in Scotland with the duke of Albany, wherever he pleased, and to come with him so long as he pleased, in desence and support of the king of Scotland, his brother; and promised, that they should want no surnishing nor expences, ay and till the king of Scotland was put at liberty, and revenged upon his enemies.

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And incontinent thir noblemen came in Scotland, the twentieth day of August, the year of God, one thoufand four hundred and eighty two; and planted their pallions upon the Borrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there made provision for their army. And then the Scottish lords, seeing this, asraid of their king, which caused them to draw together to the council; where foon after compeared the duke of Albany, with the duke of Gloucester, within the town, with the number of a thousand gentlemen, and entered into the Tolbooth, before the lords of Scotland, who were fitting then in council; and they reverently faluted the duke of Albany, and welcomed him home, and defired of him what was his petition. He answered again, " I " desire the king's grace my brother to be put to li-" berty." Which was granted to him incontinently. But the chancellor answered and said, " My lord, we " will grant you your petition and defire: But, as to " that man that is with you, we know him not, nor " will grant nothing to his defire : But we know you " to be the king's brother, and, next unto the king's " fon, second person of Scotland, and a savourer of " justice and commonweal thereof: Therefore' the " king's grace shall be at your pleasure, to use him as " you think good, befeeking you therefore to cause " him use wise and prudent counsel in time coming, " which regards his honour, and commonweal of the " country; which being done, I trust the king shall " be out of suspicion of his barons, which have been " troublous to him in time bypast, and caused us, " that were his lords, to do these things, which stood " not to his contentment; because he would not " use our counsel, but used all things at his own plea-" fure, and their counsel who were familiars for the " time, G 3

"time, who were not worthy to have been with a king, nor to have given a prince counsel, but rather to have holden the plough, or to have kept sheep or neat. Therefore, I pray your lordship, to cause him use better counsel in time coming, where by your lordship may have honour of the labours which you have made at this time for his deliverance."

And when the faid chancellor had ended his oration, the duke of Albany, and the duke of Gloucester, departed from the council, and went toward the castle to receive the king: and two heralds of arms were commanded to pass with them, to charge the captain to make the gates open, and set the king's grace at liberty.

This being done, the king came forth out of the castle to the duke of Albany, his brother, and there lap on a hackney to ride down to the Abbey: But he would not ride forward, till the duke of Albany, his brother, lap on behind him; and so they went down the geat to the Abbey of Holy-rood-house, where they remained a while, till all the lords had come, and made their due obedience to the king, by the duke of Albany's advice.

Thereafter the king past to Stirling, and through many parts of Scotland, accompanied with the duke of Albany and the duke of Gloucester, lieutenant to the king of England; and with him two thousand horsemen, and sive hundred footmen, upon the king of England's expences; and thereafter sent home the rest of his armies in England again, and remained himself for them, one day, with the king of Scotland, with the foresaid number.

And, in this mean time, the king put certain lords in the castle of Edinburgh, in ward, who were the counsellors of the most part of his inputting, which were in number fixteen; to wit, the earl of Bothwell. lord Hume, lord Evandale chancellor for the time. lord Gray, lord Drummond, the lord of Eglintoun, lord Fleming, lord Seton, lord Maxwel, with fundry other great barons. And the king was advised at that time, to have justified them, were it not for the counsel of the duke of Albany his brother. The earl of Angus also shewed himself familiar, at that time, with the duke and king, and did what he could to fave the lords from

justifying in the king's fury.

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After this, a long while, the king had good peace and rest through all Scotland, through the counsel of the duke of Albany, his brother; who, foon after, married the earl of Orkney's daughter, and got upon her a fon, called ALEXANDER, who after was bishop of Murray: But, not long after that, parted with the earl of Orkney's daughter, and past in France, and was married upon the dutchess of Bologne. duke of Albany had great indignation of many of the lords of Scotland, because of fortifying and maintaining of the king's grace in his particular affairs; and gave him the fole wyte, that fo many of the lords were captive at that time; and for the rendering of Berwick lately, conform to his promise, and the king of Scotland's commission, who gave him commandment and power to render the fame for his relief . yet the lords could not stand content therewith, but alleged it to be treason, and would fain had some crime to have accused the duke of Albany thereof, and to have put a new suspicion betwixt him and his brother, thinking on no ways how they could get G 4 theirwere cut off. To this effect they caused certain flatterers and evil speakers to show the king, that the duke of Albany intended to have the crown; for he was liker to be king than the king himself, as he proceeded; for he disponed all things pertaining to the erown: And caused the king understand, that he would fulfil the prophecy of the witch, that prophesied to the king, that one of the nearest of his kin should destroy him.

Thir words, and fuch other wicked counsellors, made the king fo afraid of the duke of Albany, that he would have been content to have been quit of him with his honesty. Notwithstanding all the labours and travels he had fultained for the king's welfare, and deliverance of him out of captivity, all his good fervice was forgot by their flattery, and the fear the king took of him, by persuasion of wicked persons, who caused the king to summon the duke his brother, before the council, for fuch points of treason as after follow: That is to fay, for rendering of the town of Berwick in the Englishmens hands, without council or commission of the lords of Scotland; yet, notwithflanding, the duke compeared pertly before the king and council, and produced the king's commission under his great feal, for to render the same, to the effect, that support might come to the king for his delive-But the lords alledged, that the king's commission was of no effect at that time, because he was in ward, and did it not by the counsel of his nobility and lords of this realm : Therefore the lords and council, for the time, convicted the duke of Albany, and fent him to the castle, to remain in prison.

In

In this mean time, the earl of Angus got the whole lords, that were in ward, relieved, upon caution to enter again, when the king pleased, in ward, or in parliament, under the pain of ten thousand pounds for ilk one of them. So, after this, they counselled the king to justify the duke of Albany, his brother: Thinking, if they were quit of him, they would do with the king what they pleafed; for they stood in fuch awe of the duke of Albany, they durst not meddle with the king, nor put hand on him, fo long as the faid duke was on life: Wherefore thir conspirators desired, at all times, to have this duke put to death, trusting the better to come to their purpose of the king thereafter. Notwithstanding, the secret treafon was known in France, by some moyen of them that favoured the duke : And therefore there came a French ship out of France hastily into Scotland, with fecret writings to the duke, who was then in prison in the castle of Edinburgh, to advertise him, that it was concluded by the king and council, that he should be justified upon a certain day, which was the day after the ship strake in the road of Leith, beside Newhaven, and gave himself forth as a passenger with wine, and fent up word to the caltle to the duke, if he would have any of their support. When he heard thir novels, he defired of the captain licence for to fend for two boffes of wines, who gave him leave gladly, and provided the boffes himfelf. And then the duke fent his familiar fervant to the French ship, and prayed him to fend two boffes full of Malvefy; which he obeyed thankfully: And, in one of the bosses, he put a roll of wax, wherein was closed a fecret writing, which shewed the duke such tidings as. he was not content with : But, in the other boss, G 5 there

there were certain fathoms of cords, to support him in his need, at that time. The boffes were of the quantity of two gallons the picce; wherefore they were the less to be known, that there was ought in them but the wine. Notwithstanding, the man that brought the wine fped him fast again to his master, and shewed him certain things by tongue that this stranger spake to him. And that night the duke called the captain to the supper, and promifed him a drink of good wine; who gladly accepted the fame, and came to him incontinent, and supped with him. The duke gave his chamber-chiel command, that he should drink no wine that night, but keep himself fresh, for he knew not what he had ado. Therefore he prayed him to beware with himself; and if there arose any thing amongst them, he prayed him to take his part, as he would be a good mafter to him thereafter.

When supper was done, the captain passed to the king's chamber, to fee what he was doing, who was then lodged in the castle; and when he had visited him, he gart steik the gates, and set the watchmen; and thereafter came again to the duke's chamber to the collation, and after they had drunk their collation, and all men were in their beds, the duke and the captain went to the tables, and played for the wine. The fire was very hot, and the wine was strong, and the captain and his men became merry; while, at last, the duke of Albany perceived his time, and made a fign to his chamber-chiel to be ready, as he had instructed him before: For, at that time, the duke thought there was no remedy, but either to die or do; because that he was surely advertised, by the French ship, that he was to be headed upon the morn. Therefore he thought best to preveen the time, and

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put his life in jeopardy; for if he flipped that occasion, he would not find the like : Therefore he put himfelf in a venture, and lap from the board, and ftruck the captain with a whinger, and flew him, and alfo flicked other two with his own hand; and, in the mean time, his chamber-chiel was very bufy; and fo the two overthrew four, that is to fay, the captain and his three fervants; and, when they had done, cast them in the fire; and afterwards took out their tows. and passed to the wall of the castle, at a quiet place. where the watch-men might have no fight of them. and there stretched their cords over the wall, and the duke let down his chamber-chiel; but the tow was fhort, he fell and brake his thigh-bone; and thereafter cried to his mafter, and bade him make the tow longer, for he was gone. The duke rave the sheets of his bed, and made the tow longer, and passed down himfelf fafely: And when he came down, he perceived his fervant lying in point of his life. He took him upon his back, and bore him as far as he might win away, and left him in a quiet place, where he might be fafe; and fyne went to New-haven, and made a fign to the ship; who fent her boat to the land for him, and received him up into the ship; but I know not if his fervant went with him or not: But furely many gentlemen of Scotland wished to have been with him; among the rest, Sir ALEXANDER JARDIN, laird of Applegirth, he passed with him, and fundry other gentlemen. But, on the morrow, when the watches perceived the tow was hanging over the wall, they ran to feek the captain, to have shewn him the manner; but he was not in his chamber; they could not get him. Then they passed to the duke's chamber, and there they fand the door standing open, and a dead

a dead man lying sticked; and also they saw the captain, and the two other, in the fire, burnt, which was very dolorous and fearful unto them; but they mist the duke of Albany and his chamber-chiel. ran speedily and told the king how the manner had happened, that the captain was flain and his fervants: but the king-would give no credence to them, till he went himself to see how the matter stood; and saw the captain and his men dead lying burnt in the fire. Then confidered he the whole case how it stood, and caused the gates to be holden close, that no word fhould pass to the town, till he had searched all the place, to fee if the duke had been in the caftle or not. But when he, on no ways, could find him, he caused fend all his horfemen into all parts and countries, to fee if they could apprehend him in any place, and bring him to the king again, and they should have great reward therefore: But, on no ways they could get him, or yet wit of him; till, at the last, a man came out of Leith, and shewed the king, that there came a boat out of the French ship, and took in certain men, and thereafter took up their sail and travished up and down the Frith. They judged all to be the duke, as it was true : For he past into France incontinent, and was well received of the king, and got the dutchess of Bologne in marriage, and got upon her TOHN STUART, which, after him, was duke of Albany and governor of Scotland.

But we will leave off them, and turn to our history, how, at the hour of nine, the whole lords came up to the castle to the king, to see what order should be taken with the execution of his brother, the duke of Albany, in what place he should be headed: But when they knew how the matter stood, there were some

fome of them very forry, thinking that he would quite them a common, if he lived. But other fome that favoured him, and knew that he was innocent. were well content that he had freed himself in that manner, thinking that they would hear better tidings of him another day; yet the king was very commoved at the flaughter of the captain of the castle; but he was more fearful at the departure of the duke, that he was fo escaped, thinking on the vain suspicion that was put in his head, toward his brother, by the witch, and the inchantment of the devil: Thinking ever, that he should not be fatisfied in his mind, unless his brother had been put to death, like as the earl of Mar was put to dead before. But from time that he was fure advertised, that his brother the duke of Albany was entertained in France, by the king and council, and had gotten the dutchess of Bologne in marriage, in that respect he thought he would never return to Scotland again hastily, because he was both forefaulted. and had broken his ward, and made flaughter therein. Yet, notwithstanding, the lords took fear ever of his returning, and therefore durst never execute their intents, till they knew furely he was dead. And, in this mean time, the king past through all Scotland, at his pleafure, with peace and rest.

And in this mean time, there were great wars in England, betwixt EDWARD the duke of York, which usurped the kingdom of HARRY VI. imprisoned; and the duke of Clarence, with his wife, with other certain of his kin and friends, past to Normandy, at that time, to remain there with the duke, his goodbrother, till he saw surther. And we return to our history again.

King

King JAMES III. being in good peace and rest the most part of that year, he went to Stirling, as we have shown you, and remained there. He took fuch pleafure to dwell there, that he left all the castles and towns in Scotland, because he thought it most pleasant dwelling there, and founded a college within the faid castle, called the Chapel Royal; and also he bigged the great Hall of Stirling, within the faid castle: Also he made, into the Chapel Royal, all kind of office. men, to wit, the bishop of Galloway, dean, and the arch-dean, and the treasurer and sub-dean, chantor, and fub-chantor, with all kind of other offices pertaining to a college; and also doubled them, to that effect, that they should ever be ready, the one half, to pass with him wherever he pleased, that they might fing and play to him, and hold him merry; and the other half should remain at home, in the said chapel, for to fing and pray for him and his fucceffors : And, for this cause, he made great foundation of the said chapel royal.

And, in the mean time, the benefice of Coldingham vaked; and the king thought to have given the same to the chapel royal of Stirling: But the Humes, hearing of this, were in no ways content; and specially Andrew Hume of Fastcastle, who had many steddings in Coldingham in his hands, for the time, believing to get the same in seu asterwards; because the Humes ever intended to have a prior, in that room, of their own sirname: Wherefore they thought the king greatly to be their enemy, because he intended to mell with any thing that they had an eye to, and specially the priory of Coldingham. And, for this cause, the Humes and Hepburns, with certain lords and barons

of the country (and, in special, the lords that were put in the castle for the conspiracy of Lawder-bridge) assembled together to convention and council against the king, and banded themselves; so that whenever he laid any thing to their charge, they thought to be party to him.

The king, hearing of thir news, caused fend a herald to thir forefaid lords, and charged them and their cautioners, to enter to underly the law, within the fpace of forty days, for fuch things as he was to lav to their charge: But the herald was evil intreated in the execution of the fummons, and was manifeftly deforced, and his letters riven. At the which the king took great displeasure, and knew well there was nothing but rebellion. For the which cause the king passed to Stirling, and garnished the castle with men and victual, and made a man, called JAMES SHAW, laird of Sauchie, alias Halie, captain of the faid castle; and delivered him JAMES, his eldest fon, in keeping, and commanded him straitly, as he loved his honour and his life, " That he would let no man enter in the " faid castle, neither great nor small, till his returning " again; nor yet let his fon pass out of the castle to " play at no game, nor meet with no man, but to " keep him straitly within the faid castle, till his re-" turning."

This being done, he came to the castle of Edinburgh, and surnished it in like manner, and put his whole pose of gold and silver in the said castle; and required the said captain to watch wisely; and shew to him, that he was to ride to the north-land amongst his lords, and there to seek counsel and support of them against this new rebellion. On the morn he passed to Leith, and shipped in a ship of captain Wood's. Wood's, which was bound to Flanders for the time. Some of thir conspirators, who heard tell of the king's diet, followed fast after the king to Leith, and thought to have gotten him there; but they mist him, and got part of his coffers with money and cloathing : they believed furely, because the king was in a ship of captain Wood's, which was bound to Flanders, that he was passing there himself; and that caused them take the less fear, and be the more hardy in spoiling his fervants. But the king caused the faid captain Wood to land him in Fife, and rode through the fame to the north-land, into the town of Aberdeen, and there to meet with all the north-land lords that favoured him, and would take his part : But yet, ere he past, he lest word behind him, to the sheriff of Fife, Strathern and Angus, to make proclamation out-through their shires, that all men, betwixt fixty and fixteen, spiritual and temporal, as well burgh as land, that they should be ready at a certain day, at his coming, to pass with him, where he pleafed, to danton rebels and conspirators against him.

The rebels, hearing of this the king's provision against them, sought all the ways and crafty means they could, to make themselves able against the king, and all that would take his part: Thinking either they should fight with the king, and give him battle, or else cause him to the slight out of Scotland; and yet because their title was not good, they durst not attempt the same, because they knew the king to be well loved with all the commons and borrows; and, in special, with all the antient lords and barons of the country, who were so wise, that they knew the danger, what it was to rebel against a crowned king.

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Thirmotives, and other things, were a hinder to thir conspirators to put hand in their prince: But certain of the eldest, to wit, the earl of Angus, the lord Evendale, the earl of Bothwel, the lord Hume, with diverse others, concluded, by their counsel, not to mell with the king, without they had the prince, his fon, in their hands; and to this purpose they concluded all; and thereto found the crafty moyen; that is to fay, they fend a messenger quietly to the captain of Stirling, desiring him affectuously, that he would come and speak with them, for his own well and fingular profit; who was very loath to come to But yet, at last, they made him so fair promiles, and gave him fuch gifts of gold and filver, that he was finally corrupt, and brought to their purpose, to grant all the petitions they defired of him at that time, to wit, that he should deliver the prince in their hands incontinent, and keep the castle still in the prince's name and theirs; and that he should not receive the king in time coming, nor none of his, in the faid castle. For thir causes they gave him great sums of money, and he immediately delivered the prince unto them; who went with him to Linlithgow, and there made proclamations to all manner of men that would come and defend the prince, because they alleged, that the king had suspicion at his son, and at them, like as he had to his brethren before; and was coming, with a great army, to take him and put him Therefore they defired all men, that in prison: loved the commonwealth, to come and defend the prince: And also they they fied their waggons and men of war to pass with them, with the king's own money which they got at Leith, and paffed all forward with the prince against the king's coming; who knew nothing

thing of this treason, wrought at this time by the captain of Stirling, nor yet of the deliverance of his son; but pertly came forward with all the North of Scotland: That is to say, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Mar and Murray, Buchan and Merns, Angus, Gowry, Fife, Strathern, Stirling-shire, Athole, Argyle, with some of the lords of the west-land that savoured him: For there were none in all thir foresaid shires but they took part with him, both gentlemen and commons, allenarly, except the lord Gray in Angus, and the lord Drummond in Strathern, who were with the other party against the king.

Notwithstanding, the king came pertly forward to St. Johnstoun, and there warned all the lords and gentlemen of Fife, to meet with him, with the whole commons thereof, both on horse and foot; who came obediently to the king, and with them in company lord DAVID LINDSAY of The Byres, as captain and lieutenant to them, at the king's command; for he had been long in France before, and was well experimented in wars: Therefore the king thought him most able, at that time, to give him charge, because he knew him hardy, and true to his grace fundry times before, when he had ado: Therefore the lord DA-VID met with him at St. Johnston, with three thoufand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, all ready to wair their lives with him, in his defence. The faid lord DAVID himself riding upon a great grey courser, he lighted down, and made his obedience to the king; and thereafter presented the said courser to the king, shewing his grace, that if he had ado in his extremity, either to flee or follow, that horse should war all the horse of Scotland, at his pleasure, if he would fit well. The king thanketh him greatly. ALEX-ANDER

ANDER lord Ruthyen, sheriff of Strathern, brought to him a well-favoured company of men, to wit, a thousand gentlemen, well horsed with jack and spear. a thousand bows, a thousand half-long swords and habergeons; which contained in the whole three thoufand, with St. Johnston, which past all in company with the sheriff; and all the rest of the North-land men and West-land men met the king at Stirling. So the king was of number, when he entered into Stirling, thirty thousand able men, by commons. He passed into the castle incontinent, and desired to be in: But the captain denied, and refused to receive the king. Then he defired to fee his fon for to fpeak with him. The captain refused that in the like manner, and faid, " He would not speak with him at that time." the king inquired gently where we was; and he shewed him that he was with the lords, who took him against his will. Then the king answered and faid, " Fy, " traitor, thou hast deceived me; and, if I live, I shall " be revenged on thee, and thou shalt be rewarded as " thou hast ferved."

The king thereafter past to the town, and lodged all night, and caused a strait watch of his army to stand about the town that night; while, on the morrow, that the day brake, the king rose, and his council and lords that were with him, and past forward to the Torwood in arrayed battle, and there planted down till more came to him. But the king's enemies, on the other side, pertly came forward to the water of Carron, above the bridge, about the number of twelve thousand horsemen, and six thousand sootmen, and planted there that night. While, on the morn there came wise men, on both the sides, to treat of peace: But the king seeing that he was so great of power above

bove his enemies, who had rifen and rebelled against him, then the king arrayed his battle, and made forward to the fields, and put all his men in order, as after follows: That is to fav, ten thousand men of Highland-men, with bows, in the van-guard; the earl of Huntley and the earl of Athol, leaders of the faid host. In the rear-guard ten thousand men of the West-land and Stirling-shire, with the earl of Monteith, lord Erskine and lord Graham, leaders of them. The king himself in great battle, with all the borrows and commons of Scotland, on the one wing. On the right hand passed lord DAVID earl of Crawford, and lord DAVID LINDSAY of The Byres; with them in company, of Fife and Angus, in number two thousand horsemen, and fix thousand footmen; and on his left hand and wing, paffed ALEXANDER lord Ruthven, with all Strathern and the Stormont, to the number of five thousand men.

Thus the king, being in order, passed forward in arrayed battle. The word came to him, that his enemies were in fight. Then the king cried for his horse, and lap upon the horse that the lord DAVID had given, and rode to fee and know the manner of their coming. The king beheld them in three battles, to the number of fix thousand men in every battle; the Humes and the Hepburns having the van-guard, with the Merse and Teviotdale, with the East-Lothian. And next them in battle, Liddisdale and Anandale, and many of Galloway. And then came all the whole lords that conspired against the king, and brought with them, in company, the prince, to be their buckler and fafe-guard; and hasted fast forward, with great courage; because they knew the king's faculties, that he was never hardy, nor yet constant in battle. Then the king, seeing his enemies coming forward with his own banner displayed, and his son against him, he remembered of the words that the witch spake to him before, "That he should be destroyed and put down by the nearest of his kin;" which he saw apparently for to come to pass at that time: And, by the words of the foresaid witch, illusion and enticement of the devil, he took a vain suspicion in his mind, that he hastily took purpose to slee.

In this mean time, the lords, feeing the king tyne courage, defired him to pass by the host till they had foughten the battle: But, by this, the Humes and the Hepburns came fo fast upon the king's vanguard; and, on the other fide, they shot them so fast with arrows, that they hurt and flew many of the horfes, and put them a-back; But at the last, the thieves of Anandale came in shouting and crying, and feared the king fo, (having no practice in war) that he took purpose and ran his way, and thought to win the town of Stirling: But he spurred his horse at the flight-speed, coming through the town of Bannockburn. A woman feeing a man coming fast upon his horse, she standing in a flonk bringing home water, the ran fast away, and left the pig behind her: So the king's horse, seeing this, lap over the burn and flonk, of free-will; but the king was evil fitting, and fell off his horse at the mill-door of Bannockburn, and was so bruised with the fall, and weight of his harness, that he fell in swoon: and the miller and his wife haled him out of it into the mill, not knowing what he was, but cast him in a nuik, and covered him with a cloath. While, at the last, the king's host, knowing that the king was gone and fled, debated themselves manfully; and, knowing that they were borderers and thieves that dealt

with them, therefore they had the more courage for to defend themselves. At last they returned and sled in good order, till they got the Torwood, and there debated a long time, while night came; and then many of the said army passed to Stirling, and their enemies following them, many were taken and hurt on both sides, but sew slain.

But, at last, when all the host was passing by, and the enemies returned again, the king overcame lying in the mill, and cried if there was any priest there to make his confession. The miller and his wife, hearing thir words, required of him, what man he was, and what his name was. He happened out unluckily, and faid. " I was your king this day at morn." Then the Miller's wife clapt her hands, and ran forth, and cried for a priest to the king. In the mean time a priest was coming by, (some fay it was the lord Gray's servant) and he answered, " Here am I, a priest; where is the " king? Then the miller's wife took the priest by the hand, and led him into the mill where the king lay. As foon as the faid prieft faw the king, he knew him incontinent, and kneeled down upon his knee, and speired at the king's grace, " If he might live, if " he had good leiching." Who answered him, and faid, " He trowed he might, but defired a priest to " take his advice, and give him the facrament." The priest answered and said, " That I shall do hasti-" ly." And pulled out a whinger, and gave him four or five strokes, even into the heart; and then got him on his back, and went away : But no man wist what he did with him, or where he yearded him; for no wit was gotten of him, or of his dead, nor yet who flew him, a month after. Notwithstanding the battles were dissevered, in manner as I have shewn, the

the king's battle fled to Stirling; and the other passed that night to their tents, and on the morn to Linlithgow. I cannot hear of no man of reputation that was slain at that time; but there were many earls, lords and barons that were taken and ransomed. This unhappy battle was stricken in the month of June, the eighteenth day, one thousand four hundred and eighty eight years.

This may be feen and known, as an example to all kings that come after, to give them a lesson, that they fall not from God, using their wicked lives to their own fensual pleasures, and live by inchantment of sorcery or witchcrast, to seek knowlege or support of the devil, as this seeble king did: For it will cause them to fall in suspicion with their lieges and kinsmen; at last it shall cause them to use such tyranny and mischief in their realm, by illusion of the devil.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

KING JAMES IV.

KING JAMES III. unworthily flain in this manner, as is aforefaid, JAMES IV. and all the rest of the conspirators that came against the king, passed to Linlithgow, and there remained till they got word if the king was slain or not.

In this mean time there came a man to them in Linlithgow, shewing to them, that there were two ships of captain Wood's travishing up and down the Frith. Of the which ships, the one was called The Flower, and the other The Yellow Carnal. They had had sent their float boats to the land, and received many hurt men, out of the sield, into their ships; of whom they believed the king should have been one of them.

The which tidings the prince, and all the lords that were with him, hearing, took conjecture of the same, thinking that captain Wood was principal servant to the king at the time, and having wages of him, and surnished him and his ships ofttimes, to pass where he

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pleased:

pleased: Therefore they believed, that he should have waited on the king in the field, and have brought him to the ships. They, certified of this matter, raifed their army, and came all to Leith, and there remained two days; and, in the mean time, fent mef. fengers to captain Wood, desiring to know if the king was in the ships, or not; who denied, and said, He was not there. And bade them fearch and feck his thips, at their own pleasure, if they would not give him credence. Upon his answer the messengers departed unto the prince and lords, shewing captain Wood's answer. Of the which the prince and lords could not be content; but fent messengers again to captain Wood, defiring him to come to the council, that they might inquire of him how the matter stood. But he, on the other part, knowing that they had murdered his master, in manner as I have shewn, took fuch suspicion of them, that he would not come in their hands, without pledges that he should be fafely delivered, without harm and skaith, again unto his ship. Thir answers the messengers brought again unto the prince and the lords; who incontinent gart two lords pass in pledge for the said captain Wood, till he should be delivered again unto his ships, to wit, the lord Seton and the lord Fleming, and there to remain in the faid ships till their captain was delivered.

This being done, the lords delivered into the ships, the said captain went aboard and came to the land, and presented himself before the prince and the lords, in the town of Leith, for they were there for the time: But, as soon as the prince saw the said captain present him before the prince and the lords, in the town of Leith, with certain gentlemen in company, he believed surely he had been his father, and inquired of

him,

him, " Sir, are you my father." Who answered him again, with tears falling from his eyes, " I am not " your father, but I was your father's true fervant, " and shall be to the authority till I die, and enemy " to them who were the occasion of his down-putting." The whole lords required of captain Wood, if he knew of the king, and where he was. He answered. "That he knew nothing of him, nor where he was." Then they spiered, what they were that came out of the field, and passed to the ships in the float boats. Who answered and faid, " It was I and my brother, " ready with the king to have waired our lives in his " defence." Then they faid, " Is he not in your ships?" Who answered, " He is not; but would God he were " there fafely; I should defend and keep him skaith-" less from all the treasonable traitors that have " cruelly murdered him: For I think to fee the " day, to fee them hanged and drawn for their de-" merits."

Then the lords seeing nothing of captain Wood, but despiteful answers and proud speakings, were not content therewith; yet they durst not put hands on him to do him skaith, because of the lords that were pledges for him: For, if they had done him any skaith, his brother would incontinent hanged the pledges; which, as it was, skaped narrowly, by reason of the long tarrying of the said captain: Therefore the lords hasted away the captain to his ships, and enquired no more tidings of him.

This being done, the lords were delivered, and came a land again, that were pledges, who were right fleed; and shewed the prince and the council, if they had holden captain Wood any longer, they had been both hanged. At this the prince and the lords were

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very commoved, and defired certain ships of Leith, to pass forth to the Frith incontinent, to take the said captain Wood and bring him. And, to this effect, they called all the shippers and mariners of Leith before the council, to see which of them would take on hand to pass upon the said captain, and they should be furnished with men, artillery and victuals, upon the prince and the lords their expences: But the said shippers and mariners resused all; but one captain Bartyne answered before the council, and said, "That "there were not ten ships in Scotland would give captain Wood's two ships the combat: For he was so well practised in war, and had such artillery and men, that it was hard dealing with him by sea "or land."

This being spoken, the prince and his council confidered the same; and therefore continued that matter till afterward; and immediately passed to Edinburgh, and there remained a while; and fent out letters in all parts, both in burgh and land, defiring the whole lords and nobility, and commissioners of borrows, to compear at Edinburgh, upon a certain day, to fee the king crowned, and give their confent thereto. But few compeared, except fome commissioners of borrows, and the lords conspirators themselves, who were counfellors to the king for the time : and there they crowned the king: And, foon after, fent a herald to the castle of Edinburgh, and defired the fame to be rendered to the king and his captains, which was done obediently: But the captain thereof made fuch moyen with the lords of council, and they that were courtiers for the time, that he was continued still in his office. Some fay that he certified some of the lords where the king's pole was, and caused them obtain

obtain the same, which was the cause of his continuance in his office.

This being done, the king passed to Stirling, and required the castle to be re dered in the same manner, which was done incontinent, and the king and his court received therein, and a new captain made thereof, to wit, Sir JOHN of Lundie, knight. The king remained a while in the castle of Stirling, and daily passed to the Chapel Royal, and heard Matins and Evening-fong; in the which every day the chaplains prayed for the king's grace, deploring and lamenting the death of his father; which moved the king, in Stirling, to repentance, that he happened to be counselled to come against his father in battle, where-through he was murdered and flain. To that effect, he was moved to pass to the dean of the said Chapel-Royal, and to have his counsel how he might be satisfied, in his own conscience, of the art and part of the cruel act, which was done to his father. dean, being a godly man, gave the king a good comfort; and, feeing him in repentance, was very glad thereof: But yet this godly man durst not utter his mind unto the king, fo far as his conscience served him; because the king was young and youthful, and had no constancy to keep counsel or secret thought, albeit it was for his own profit : And also this godly man dreaded the lords, and them that were conspirators of the king's death, his father; thinking, that these murderers would be discontent, and utterly displeased at him, if he had given the king his counsel, so far as his conscience dyted him: Therefore he continued the fame till he faw the king farther in age, and other counsellors about him. In the mean time he gave H 3

him fair words, and put him in good hope of forgiveness thereof, by God's mercy in Jesus Christ.

So the king continued in the faid castle a season, but he was ever sad and dolorous in his mind for the death of his father, that he was constrained, by his conscience, to use a sign of repentance; and, for the same cause, gart make a girth of iron, and weared it daily about him, and eiked, every year of his life, certain ounces of weight thereto, as he thought good.

The lords feeing this, who were conspirators, thinking in their minds, that the king was dolorous, and ever musing in his mind, thinking, that some time he would be displeased with their proceedings : Therefore they confulted among themselves, that they would counsel the king to their effect while he was young. And also they feared the lords, on the other part, that were with the king's father, the time of his slaughter, to have defended him: Thinking that they would get the king fometime at their opinion, that they might be revenged of their master's death by their conspiracy. And, for the same cause, to avoid all fuch fuspicion whereby they might be challenged of the fact, caused the king incontinent to set a parliament, to be holden at Edinburgh within the space of forty days; and fummoned and warned all the whole lords of Scotland, and great barons thereof, and commissioners of borrows, to compear at Edinburgh the day and place foresaid, and there to hear and see justice ministered, like as it was in times before, and of their forebeers. But there was a special summons directed on them that were partakers with the king's father, against himself; and also of the borrows; which whole number of the lords was twenty eight,

and twenty eight great barons. This foresaid number was summoned particularly, every one by himself, to compear at Edinburgh, upon the space of forty days, to answer there, " For the cruel and treasonable com"ing with the king's father, at Bannockburn, a"gainst himself, thinking there to cause his father
"to devour the son." With other points of dittay, which I need not to rehearse.

Further, the first lord that ever was specified in the summons, was lord DAVID LINDSAY of The Byres, because he was most familiar with king JAMES III. at that time, and was frankest in his opinion, and used himself most mansully in his defence against his enemies: Therefore the conspirators had greatest envy at him. And when the time came, all the whole lords of Scotland compeared, both on the one side and the other, in presence of the king and council, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

The king sitting in judgment himself, the summons was read, and lord DAVID LINDSAY called sirst, as we have said; and his dittay is in this manner, as after sollows; that is to say, "Lord DAVID LIND" SAY of The Byres, answer for the cruel coming against the king at Bannockburn, with his sather, giving him counsel to have devoured the king's grace here present; and, to that effect, gave him a "fword, and a good horse, to sortify him against his fon. Your answer hereto."

This lord DAVID LINDSAY, being a rash man, of small ingine and rude language, although he was stout and hardy in the sields, and well exercised in wars, yet he had no practice in the laws, and could not answer formally to their dittay, and could get no man of law to speak for him, for sear of the king and

his lords, because the king sat in judgment himself; and specially, because he was accused of treason before the king, at that time. Yet lord DAVID LIND say, hearing himself called so oft, and dittay forefaid read, answered on this manner, " Ye are all Lur-" danes, my lords; I fay, ye are false traitors to " your prince; and that I dare prove with my body, " on any of you which holds you best, from the " king's grace down : For the false Lurdanes and " traitors have caused the king, by your false sedi-" tions and conspiracy, to come against his father in of plain battle, where that noble prince was cruelly " murdered among your hands, by your advice, " though ye brought the king in presence, for your " behoof, to make him the buckler of your enter-" prize. Therefore, false Lurdanes, if the king pu-" nish you not hastily, for that murder, ye will mur-" der himself, when ye see time, as ye did his father. " Therefore, Sir, beware with them, and give them " no credence; for they that were false to your fa-" ther, can never be true to your felf. Sir, I affure " your grace, if your father were living, that I would " take his part, and stand in no awe of thir false Lur-" danes. And likewife, if you had a fon that would " be counselled to come in battle against you, by evil " counsel of false Lurdanes, like thir, I would take " your part against them, and fight against them, in " your just quarrel, ever with three against fix of " them. And thir false traitors, which cause you to " believe evil in my hands, I shall be truer at length, " to your grace, than they shall be.

The chancellor, and the rest of the lords that sat with the king in judgement, at that time, hearing the gross and rude speech, and sharp accusation of lord

DAVID

DAVID LINDSAY, in presence of the king and all the lords, and whole nobility of Scotland, the said chancellor thought then he hit them over near; the which therefore the chancellor, to excuse the matter, answered and spake to the king on this manner. "Sir, "if it please your grace, lord DAVID LINDSAY "is but a man of the old world, and cannot answer formally to your grace, nor yet, in your presence, "can speak reverently. Your grace must be good "unto him, and I trust he will come in your grace's "will." And he spoke to lord DAVID LINDSAY, and said, "My lord, I counsel you to come in the "king's grace's will, and he will be good unto "you."

Thir words were spoken by the chancellor, purposely to cause lord DAVID LINDSAY come in the king's will, that it might be a preparative to all the lave, that were under the fummons of forfeiture, to follow, and come in the king's will, and thought to have cutled them off that way. But one Mr. PAT-RICK LINDSAY, brother german to the faid lord DAVID LINDSAY of The Byres, hearing his brother was defired to come in the king's will, was not content therewith; to that effect, he stramped sadly on his brother's foot, to gar him understand that he was not content with the defire which the chancellor proponed unto him. But the stramp of Mr. PAT-RICK LINDSAY was fo fad on his brother's foot, who had a fore toe, that the pain thereof was very dolorous: Therefore he looked to him, and faid, "Thou art over pert, lown, to stramp on my foot, " wert thou out of the king's presence, I should take " thee on the mouth." Mr. PATRICE, hearing this vain words of his brother, plat down on his knees be-Hç

fore the king and the justice, and made his petition unto them in this manner: That is to say, "Sir, if "it will please your grace, and your honourable "council and justice, I desire at your grace and justice, for his sake that is judge of all, that your grace would give the leave this day to speak for my brother; for, I see that there is no man of law in "Scotland, this day, that dares speak for him, for sear of your grace: And though he and I have not been at one thir many years, yet my heart will not fuffer me to see my native house, that I am come off, to perish, and the memory thereof to be abolished."

" been at one thir many years, yet my heart will not " fuffer me to see my native house, that I am come off, " to perish, and the memory thereof to be abolished." Upon this the king's grace, and his judges, granted to Mr. PATRICK his petition, and bade him speak for his brother the best he could. Then Mr. PAT-RICK rose off his knees, and was very blyth, when he obtained licence with the king's favour and the justice, and began to speak very reverently in this manner, as after follows; faying to the whole lords of parliament, and to the rest of them that were accufers of his brother, at that time, which was entered into the boss window, and there to thole an assize, conform to their dittay, faying, " My lords, I be-" feek you all that are here present, for his sake that " must give sentence and judgment on you at the last " day, that ye would remember now, instantly is " your time, and we had the time, in times bygone, " as we may also after have. Sicklike, defiring you to know your estate, that all is changeable under " the fun, but God's justice and judgment stand ever " firm and stable: Therefore now do as ye would be " done to you, in the ministration of justice to your " neighbours and brethren, who are accused this day

" now of their lives and heritage, whose judgment " stands in your hands."

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By this Mr. PATRICK ended his speech, the chancellor bade him fay fomething for the defence of his brother, and the rest of the said lords and barons. Mr. PATRICK answers in this manner, as after follows, faying, " If it please the king's majesty, and " your honours that are here, I fay again, the king's " grace ought not to fit in judgment against his ba-" rons, because he hath made his oath of fidelity, " when he received the crown of Scotland, That he " should never give judgment, nor come in judgment " against his lords and barons, in no action where he " is party himself. In this action, because he is both " judge and party, in the faid crime, and was prefent " at the committing of the same; therefore, he ought " not, by the law of God nor man, to be judge, nor " fit in judgment at this time: Therefore we desire " him, in the name of God, to rise and depart out " of judgment, till the matter be further disputed con-" form to justice."

Upon this the chancellor and the lords advised, and concluded upon this petition, and fand it reasonable: Therefore they counselled the king to rise, and go ben to the inward Tolbooth, which was very unpleasant to him for the time, being a prince sitting upon the seat-royal, to be raised with his subjects: But the lords thinking shame to break justice, removed him in this manner; and then called upon the said lord David, and Mr. Patrick his procurator, to answer forward to the summons. The said Mr. Patrick, with all humiliation, spake reverently, saying to them, "My lords, I beseech you, for his sake that suffered passion for you, and all other sinful persons, and must

" be judge to you and all others in the day of judg " ment, that ye will confider stedfastly in your minds; " that we have been in the place that ye are in now, " and others, or we, may be in your place again, to " have the king and court at our pleasure, as ye have " now: Therefore look that your proceedings be " honest and godly, and just in all the leading of your " process." The chancellor says, " Ye shall have no " cause to plaint by me; therefore answer shortly to " your summons, and make us no more hinder, and ye " shall have justice." Mr. PATRICK answered and said, " I trow the fummons be defert and null of the felf. " because he was summoned to compear to this court " and parliament, upon the space of forty days, without continuation of days. No mention is made in " your letter, where, nor in what place; but, gene-" rally, before the king and council at Edinburgh. " And now, my lords, I believe it be one and forty days; therefore the day is expired of itself, and we ought not to answer till we be new summoned, and " lawfully called thereto."

The lords looked the fummons, and the indorfation thereupon; and when they had tried the matter, they found it so as Mr. PATRICK alleged: Therefore, by the practice and order of Scotland, the summons was casten, and the parliament dissolved; yet they caused the said lords that were upon the pannel, that were to those judgment, to find caution, every man for himself, under the pains of sums of money, to enter at such a day as was appointed to them; yet thir whole lords were very blyth, thinking that all evil was good of frist, andwere content that they had escaped so at that time; but in special lord DAVID LINDSAY, who was so ravished at his brother Mr. PATRICK LIND-SAY.

manner, "Verily, brother, you have fine pyet words, "I would not have trowed that you had fuch words, "By St. Mary, you shall have the Mains of Kirsor-" ther for it."

The king, hearing thir words, was displeased at the said Mr. PATRICK, and said to him, "He should gar "him sit where he should not see his seet for a year;" and immediately gart have him to the Rosay of Bute, and put him in prison, where he remained a year ere he was loosed. This parliament was holden at Edinburgh, the tenth day of May, one thousand sour hundred and eighty nine years.

In the same year certain English ships came in our Frith, and spoiled the merchants, and our friends, that came in our waters. Of this the king and council thought great evil, and defired affectuously to be revenged thereof, upon the faid English-men; but they could get no man nor mafters of ships, mariners nor shippers, that would take in hand to pass forth upon the said enemies; till, at last, they fent for Sir ANDREW Wood, knight of Largo, and defired him to pass forth upon the faid English-men; and, to that effect. he should be well furnished with men and artillery : And further, he should have the king's favour greatly. and be rewarded largely for his travel and labours. Of this defire the faid Sir ANDREW WOOD was well content, and palt forth to the Frith well manned, with two ships, to pass upon the said English-men. whom he foregathered withal immediately before the castle of Dumbar, where they fought long together with uncertain victory : For Sir ANDREW WOOD being but two ships, as foresaid, called The Yellow Carnal and The Flower; the king of England's ships

were five in number, with great artillery: Yet, notwithstanding, the Scottish ships prevailed at length, and that by the wisdom and manhood of their captain, which took all the five English ships, and brought them to Leith as prisoners, and delivered their captain to the king's grace and council. For the which victorious and manly act, the captain, Sir Andrew Wood, was well rewarded by the king's grace and council, and holden in great estimation thereafter with the nobility of Scotland.

But foon after the king of England heard tell of the novels, and how his ships were so foughten and taken by Sir ANDREW WOOD, as foresaid, was greatly discontent therewith, and made proclamations through all England, who would pass to the sea, and fight with Sir ANDREW WOOD; and if he happened to take him prisoner, and bring him to him, he should have. for his reward, a thousand pounds sterling to spend by year. There were many that refused, because they knew Sir Andrew Wood to be fuch a captain upon the fea; and fo chancy in battle, that he ofttimes obtained the victory; therefore they had the less will to affail him. Notwithstanding, a captain of war, a gentleman named STEVEN BULL, took in hand to the king of England, to pass to the sea, and to fight with Sir ANDREW WOOD, and bring him prisoner to the king of England, either dead or quick. Upon this the king of England was right glad, and gart provide to the captain, STEVEN BULL, three great thips, well man-steid, well victualled and well artil-Ieried.

Soon after this the said captain past to the sea, and sailed till he came to the Scottish Frith, that is to say, at the back of May, and there lay and watched Sir

ANDREW '

ANDREW WOOD's home-coming, who was then in Flanders for the time, truffing then nothing but peace. Yet, notwithstanding, this captain STEVEN BULL, waiting his time at the back of the May, took many of our boats, who were travelling in the Frith for fishes, to win their living; notwithstanding the faid STEVEN BULL ranfomed the shippers, and held many of the mariners prisoners, to that effect, that they should give him knowlege of Sir ANDREW WOOD, when he came in the Frith: While, at the last, upon a summer-morning, a little after the daybreaking, one of the English shippers perceived two thips coming under fail by St. Ebbis Head. Then this. Englishman caused some of thir Scottish prisoners to pass to the top of the ships, that they might see or fpy if it was Sir ANDREW WOOD, or not. But the Scottish-men had not will to shew the verity, but feigned, and faid, they knew them not: But, at last, the captain promised them their ransom free, if they would tell him that it was he indeed, who certified him that it was he. Then the captain was blyth. and caused pierce the wine, and drank about to all his shippers and captains that were under him, praying them to take courage, for their enemies were at hand; for the which cause he caused order his ships in the fier of war, and fet his quarter-masters and captains, every man in his own room; fyne caufed his gunners to charge their artillery, and put all in order, and left nothing undone pertaining unto a good captain.

On the other fide, Sir Andrew Wood came pertly forward, knowing no impediment of enemies to be in his geat; till, at the last, he perceived thir three ships under fail, and coming fast to them in fier of war. Then Sir Andrew Wood, feeing this, exhorted his men to battle, befeeking them to take courage against their enemies of England, who had sworn and made their vows, "that they should make "us prisoners to the king of England; but, will "God, they shall fail of their purpose: Therefore set yourselves in order, every man in his own room. "Let the gunners charge their artillery; and the cors-bows make them ready, with the lyme-pots and sire-balls in our tops, and two-handed swords in your fore-rooms; and let every man be stout and diligent for his own part, and for the honour of this realm." And thereto he caused fill the wine, and every man drank to other.

By this the fun began to rife, and shined bright upon the fails; so the Englishmen appeared very awfully in the fight of the Scots, by reason their ships were very great and strong, and well furnished with greater artillery; yet, notwithstanding, the Scots afeared nothing, but cast them to windward of the Englishmen; who, seeing that, shot a great cannon or two at the Scots, thinking they should have stricken fails at their boaft : But the Scottish-men, nothing afeared therewith, came fwiftly a windward upon captain STEVEN BULL, and clapt together from hand, and fought there from the fun-rifing while the fun go to, in the long fummer-day; while all the men and women, that dwelt near the coast, came and beheld their fighting. The night fundred them, that they were fain to depart from other. While, on the morn, that the day began to break fair, and their trumpets to blow on every fide, and made them quickly to battle; who clapt together, and fought io cruelly, that neither the shippers nor mariners took heed of their fhips ;

thips; but fighting still, while an ebb tide and fouthwind bore them to Inchcap, foreanents the mouth of Tay. The Scottish-men, seeing this, took courage and hardiment, that they doubled their strokes upon the Englishmen; and there took STEVEN BULL, and his three thips, and had them up to the town of Dundee, and there remained till their hurt men were cured, and the dead buried; and fyne took their captain, and had him to the king's grace, and delivered him there as prisoner; and his grace again received him very gladly, and thanked Sir ANDREW Wood greatly, and rewarded him richly for his manhood and labours. Syne thereafter took the English captain, and all his men, and gave them gifts of gold and filver, together with their ships, and fent them home to the king of England as a propyne; doing him understand, that he had as manful men, both by sea and land, in Scotland, as he had in England: Therefore defired him, " To fend none of his cap-" tains, in time coming, to perturb his men within " his waters; and if he would, they should not be so " well treated, nor escape so well in time coming." Notwithstanding, the king of England, hearing of thir news, was not content therewith; but yet he thanked the king of Scotland for the delivery of his men, and the entertainment of them.

In this mean time, there was good peace and rest through all Scotland, and great love betwixt the king and his subjects: For the king was so liberal, that he lest nothing ungiven to his lords and barons, that pertained to him, where he might leisomely give: For he thinking in his own mind, that the vice of covetousness rang into his father, it should not reign into him; nor yet no cowards nor pyke thanks should be authorized authorized in his company; nor he used but with the counsel of his lords: Whereby he obtained the love and savour of all his nobility within his realm; infomuch, that he rode out through the whole realm, him alone, unknown that he was a king, of any man; and would oft-times lodge in poor mens houses, as he had been a travelling man through the country; and, in the mean time, would require, of them that he was lodged with, where was the king, or how used the king himself, or how he used his lords and barons, or what they spake of him through the country: And they would answer to him as they thought good. So the king knew, this way, what was spoken of him through the country.

This prince was wondrous hardy, and diligent in the execution of justice, and loved nothing so well as able men and good horse, and used great justing, and treated his barons wondrous well that were able: And therefore would, fundry times, gar make proclamations out-through his realm, to all and fundry his lords, earls, barons, which were able for justing and tournament, to come to Edinburgh to him, and there to exercise themselves, for his pleasure, as they were best accustomed. Some to run with spear; some to fight with battle-axe and harness; some to fight with the two-handed swords; some to shoot the hand bow, cors-bow or culvering: And every man, as he thought best, got his weapon delivered to him by the king, in this manner. He that fought best, got such a weapon delivered to him, by the heralds, as he had foughten with. He that ran with the spear best, he got a spear headed with gold delivered unto him, with gilt harnesting thereto, to keep in memorial of his practice and ingine. And also the heralds t lazoned him to be the 20

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the best juster and runner at the spear in the realm, among his brethren. And the battle-axe delivered to him who sought best therewith. And likewise the sword, hand-bow and cors-bow delivered by the heralds, the same manner, to them that used them best.

By this way and mean the king brought his realm to great manhood and honours, that the fame of his justing and tournament sprang through all Europe, which caused many errant knights come out of strange countries, to Scotland, to seek justing; because they heard of the noble same, and knightly games of the prince of Scotland, and of his lords and barons, and gentlemen. Many strangers came, but sew were resused, but they were soughten with, and warred in singular battle with the Scottish-men.

In this mean time there was a great marvel feen in Scotland. A bairn was born reckoned to be a manchild; but, from the waste up, was two fair persons, with all members and portraitures pertaining to two bodies, to wit, two heads, well-eyed, well-eared, and The two bodies, the one's back was well-handed. fast to the other's; but, from the waste down, they were but one personage, and could not know, by the ingine of man, from which of the two bodies the legs and privy members proceeded. Notwithstanding the king's majesty caused take great care and diligence upon the upbringing of thir two bodies in one personage, caused nourish them, and learn them to sing and play upon instruments of music; who, within short time became very ingenious and cunning in the art of music; whereby, they could play and sing two parts; the one the treble, and the other the tenor; which was very dulce and melodious to hear. The common people, who treated them also, wondred that they could

could speak diverse and fundry languages; that is to fay, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Danish English and Irish. Thir two bodies long continued. to the age of twenty-eight years; and the one departed long before the other, which was dolorous and heavy to the other; for which many required of the other to be merry. He answered, " How can I be " merry, that have my true marrow as a dead car-" rion about my back, which was wont to fing and " play with me. When I was fad, he would give " me comfort, and I would do the like to him. But " now I have nothing but dolour of the bearing fo " heavy a burden, dead, cold and unfavoury, on my " back, which taketh all earthly pleasure from me in " this present life: Therefore I pray to Almighty " God, to deliver me out of this prefent life, that " we may be laid and diffolved in the earth, where-" from we came."

Soon after this there came a Dutch knight in Scotland, called Sir JOHN CLOKEHEWIS, and defired fighting and justing in Scotland, with the lords and barons: But none was fo apt and ready to fight with him as Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, brother to the earl of Arran, being then a young man, strong of body, and able of all things; but yet, for lack of exercise, he was not so well practifed as need were; though he lacked no hardiment, fliength, nor courage in his proceedings: But, at last, when the Dutchman and he were affembled together, both on great horse, within the lifts, under the castle-wall of Edinburgh; after the found of the trumpet, they rushed rudely together, and brake their spears on ilk side on other; and afterward got new spears and rancountred freshly again: But Sir PATRICK's horse entered with him, and would

would noways encounter his marrow, that it was force to the faid Sir PATRICK HAMILTON to light on foot, and give this Dutchman battle; and therefore. when he was lighted, cried for a two-handed fword, and bade the Dutchman light from his horse, and end out the matter, faving to him, " A horse is but a " weak warrant when men have most ado." Then, when both the knights were lighted on foot, they joined pertly together with awful countenances, and every one strake maliciously at other, and fought long together with uncertain victory; while, at the last, Sir PATRICK HAMILTON rushed manfully upon the Dutchman, and strake him upon his knees. In the mean time, the Dutchman being at the earth, the king cast his hat out over the castle wall, and caused the judges, and men of arms, redd and funder them; and the heralds and trumpets blew, and cried the victory was Sir PATRICK HAMILTON'S. This Sir PATRICK HAMILTON was brother-german to the earl of Arran, and fifter and brother-bairns to the king's majesty, and was a right noble and valiant man all his days.

In the mean time, this noble king JAMES IV, was well learned in art of medicine, and also a cunning chirurgeon, that none in his realm, that used that craft, but would take his counsel in all their proceedings.

In this mean time, the Drummonds burnt the kirk of Moneward, wherein were fix-score of Murrays, with their wives and children; but few escaped therefrom, but they were either burnt or slain by DAVID DRUMMOND, whom the king punished afterward, by heading of him, with his complices at Sterling.

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And also the king gart take a dumb woman, and put her into Inch-Keith, and gave her two young bairns in company with her, and gart furnish them with all necessaries, that is to say, meat, drink, fire and clothes, with all other kind of necessaries which are required to man or woman, desiring to understand the language thir bairns could speak, when they came to lawful age. Some say they spake good Hebrew: But, as to myself, I know not, but by the author's

report.

In this mean time, BERNARD STUART, brothergerman to the earl of Lenox, and Monsieur DAU. BINEY in France, having the Scottish company under his dominion, at the king of France's command, palt to Naples, and there was made regent and governor of the same; who ruled it so with wisdom and gentleness, that he wan all the hearts of the people ther cof; they obeyed him, and loved him so well, that he was called, by the Frenchmen, Pithroy of Naples. At this the king and council of France were not content, thinking that he would usurp the crown of Naples unto himself : And, for this cause, directed a great lord in France, to pass and be equal with the said Monsieur DAUBINEY, in all authority and power in government of the faid realm of Naples: But from time that Monsieur DAUBINEY knew the king of France's suspicion in the said matter, he would no longer bide in the realm of Naples, but hastily departed and came through England into Scotland, where he was well received with the king and council thereof; and the king treated him well and gently, and fet him at the table with himself, and made him judge of all his justings and tournaments, and called him father father of war, because he was so practised in the same.

In the year one thousand five hundred and four, and in the month of August, JAMES IV. took his wife MARGARET, the first da ighter of HENRY VII. king of England, and was married with her by the advice of the nobility of England and Scotland, and got great fums of money given to him in tocher, with great promifes and conditions of peace and rest betwixt the two countries; and thereto the two kings gave both their bands and oaths of fidelity, that they should observe and keep the same induring the time of their lives, without fraud or guile of either of the faid parties. But ever alas, their conditions were broken fhortly thereafter, as ye shall hear: For the king of England, being allied with Scotland in this manner, thinking that he had his time to pass into France to feek his pension; therefore he affembled his whole lords to a council, to fee what was their mind therein. To the which many of them concluded, and gave him counsel to pursue his own right of the king of France, confidering he was allied with the king of Scotland, and banded fo in peace with him, that he needed not to dread no back fear in Scotland, as he was wont to do: Therefore they took less care of France, thinking that the king should obtain his petition without any manner of trouble or impediment; yet the council of England thought it good to the king to fend embassadors to desire the king of France, pleasantly, and of an honest manner, to deliver and render to him his pension foresaid; with certification, that if he would not, he would come in proper person himself, and feek the fame, which might be little to his contentment.

Thir embassadors passed away to France, at the king of England and council's command, and shewed the king of France their commission and desire; who was not content therewith, believing that the king of England durst not attempt any war against him, and was commoved at the embassadors, and gave them a differing answer which was little to effect.

In this mean time there was a bishop in Scotland, called ANDREW FORMAN, who was bishop of Murray; and, at that time, was passing to Rome for his business, who rode his way through England, where he was well treated and received by king HENRY VIII. and that for the king of Scotland's sake. Syne passed forward to Rome, where he was received there by the pope, and treated there as a stranger.

In this same time, king LEWIS of France, and pope Julius II. fell at discord; and the pope raised a great army of a hundred thousand fighting men, to come against the king of France, and to give him plain battle, if he would not yield to his defires. The king of France, feeing the pope's rigoroulness against him, gathered to the number of fourfcore thousand men, and came to the field manfully, with a triumphant army against him. Thir two armies marched together within the space of a Scottish mile, every one of them to come together at the found of trumpet. But this noble bishop FORMAN, being in company with the pope for the time, defired at his Holiness, that he might speak with the king of France, to draw fome good ways, and bring concord, for the well of both the said parties. Which petition was granted to him by the pope, who was right glad of his desire. Then this noble bishop went in message to the king of France, where he was lying with his

army in proper person, who received this holy bishop with reverence, and intreated him very thankfully for the king of Scotland's fake, and was very blyth of his coming, trufting that, for the king of Scotland's fake, he would not fuffer the pope to give him battle, if he might stop it; and, to that effect, he gave him fair words, and granted many of his defires. This bishop came hastily to the pope again, with good narration of the king of France, shewing the pope, that the king of France was ready to defend the liberty of the kirk, specially his holiness, and to serve him, or pass with him where he would bid him. Thir good news, and other more, mitigate the pope's heart, that he was content with all that bishop ANDREW FOR-MAN had faid; that is to fay, to skale his army, and to speak with the king of France, and commune kindly with him, as he pleafed. With this answer bishop ANDREW FORMAN past haltily to the king of France, and shewed him the pope's good-will and mind toward him; who was well content therewith. and promised to the bishop to skale his army in like manner as the pope did his, and to meet at the place appointed, and to speak with him as the bishop had devised. And, on the morrow, both the said armies skaled; and the pope and the king of France met and embraced other, and agreed upon all matters debateable betwixt them, by the labours and counsel of this holy bishop, who was very richly rewarded therefore, and obtained great favours of great men, and of both the parties; that is to fay, the pope lighted down off his mule, and delivered her to bishop FORMAN, with great gifts of gold, and had him to Rome with him, and made him legate of Scotland; who made the pope a great banquet in one of his own palaces, the time of

his legacy, and he treated the pope and all his cardinals thereunto. When the dinner came, the pope and his cardinals placed and fat down according to their estate. Then the use was and custom, that, at the beginning of meat, he that aught the house, and made the banquet, should say the grace, and bless the meat :. And so they required the holy bishop to fay the grace; who was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin, but began rudely, in the Scottish fashion. in this manner, faying, Benedicite; believing that they should have answered, Dominus : But they an. fwered, Dans, in the Italian fathion; which put this noble bishop by his intendiment, that he wist not how to proceed forward; but happened out in good Scottish, in this manner, the which they understood not. faving, " The devil I give you to all false carills, in " nomine patris, filii, & spiritus sancti." Amen. quoth they. Then the bishop and his men leugh. And the bishop shewed the pope the manner, that he was not a good clerk, and his cardinals had put him by his intendiment; and therefore he gave them all to the devil in good Scottish; and then the pope leugh among the reft.

When the bishop was made legate of Scotland, and had done all his business, as we have shewn, he took his leave of the pope and his cardinals, and past through Italy to France, where he was wondrous welcome both to king and queen, and council, and was richly rewarded for his labours of peace-making betwixt him and the pope; and gave him, for his reward, the bishopric of Burge in Berry, which was to him yearly, in profit, four hundred tun of wine, ten thousand franks of gold, with other small commodities that cannot be rehearsed.

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The king of France also shewed to this bishop, how the king of England fent his embassadors, defiring his pension to be paid, or else he would come to invade his realm, and give him battle: Wherefore he defired the bishop affectuously to speak to the king of Scotland to Support him, conform to the tenor of his old band; and also praying the bishop to be his good friend, in counselling the king of his affairs; that is to fay, when the king of England came in France, that the king of Scotland would raise his army, and come in England. And, to this effect, the king of France fent embaffadors into Scotland with the bishop to defire the same, as is aforesaid: But the king gave him a deferring answer, because of the love and tenderness that was betwixt him and the king of England his brother-in-law. Thir ambaffadors past again in France, nothing content with their answer. This drew over for a space.

MARGARET, our queen of Scotland, brought home a young son in the month of May, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and eleven.

In this same year, the king of Scotland bigged a great thip, called The Great Michael, which was the greatest ship, and of most strength, that ever failed in England or France: For this thip was of fo great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, the wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oakwood, by all timber that was gotten out of Norway: For the was fo flrong, and of fo great length and breadth (all the wrights of Scotland, yea, and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment; who wrought very bufily in her; but it was year and day ere the was complete) to wit, the was twelvefcore foot of length, and thirty-fix foot within : 11 I 2

within the fides. She was ten foot thick in the wall. outted jests of oak in her wall, and boards on every fide, fo ftark and fo thick, that no cannon could no through her. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the fea. From that time that she was affoat, and her masts and sails complete, with tows and anchors effeiring thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, by her artillery, which was very great and coffly to the king, by all the rest of her orders; to wit, she bare many canons, fix on every fide, with three great baffils, two behind in her dock, and one before, with three hundred shot of small artillery, that is to fay, myand, and battert-falcon, and quarter-falcon, flings, pestilent ferpetens, and double-dogs, with hagtor and culvering, cors-bows and hand-bows. She had three hundred mariners to fail her; she had fixscore of gunners to use her artillery; and had a thousand men of war, by her captains, shippers and quarter-masters.

When this ship past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to essay her if she was wight; but I heard say, it deared her not, and did her little skaith. And if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibardin, and there, afore the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her, planted with hawthorn, by the wright that helped to make her. As for other properties of her, Sir Andrew Wood is my author, who was quarter-master of her; and Robert Bartyne, who was master-shipper.

This ship lay still in the road, and the king, every day, taking pleasure to pass to her, and to dine and sup in her with his lords, letting them see the order of hi

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his ship; while, at the last, the king of Scotland was furely advertised, that the king of England was making ready, with all the hafte he could, with a great army and navy of ships, to pass to France to seek his pension, whereof the king of Scotland was not content, trusting furely, that if the king of England landed in France to give battle, that he would be charged for fupport, conform to his old band, which he was loath to break. And, on the other side, he was far loather to break his vow made betwixt him and the king of England his good-brother. Yet, notwithstanding, by the crafty counsel of the bishops, which defired never to be at rest with England, but favoured France; so that they counselled the king to pick a quarrel at the king of England, which they believed should cause him start at the king of Scotland, whereby the king of Scotland might have occasion to support France at his pleasure. And in this manner they wrought, and caused the king to send bishop ANDREW FORMAN to the king of England, in embaffadry, defiring of him certain filver-work, and golden-work, with rings, chains and precious stones, and other abuilziement of gold, pertaining to the prince, his eldest brother, which was left to his wife MARGARET, queen of Scotland, in legacy, by her eldest brother.

To thir desires and petition of the ambassador forcfaid, the king of England's answer was in this manner,

as after follows.

" My lord embassador desires my brother, the king " of Scotland, to have of me filver-work, golden-" work, rings, chains, precious stones, or any other " abuilziement pertaining to a prince, which was left " in legacy by my eldest brother, to my eldest sister " MARGARET queen of Scotland .- I grant thereto, " fhe

" fhe shall be well answered thereof; not allenarly of " the fame, but the double thereof, and make your " memorial of all your defires, number and valour " thereof, and ye shall not have alone the fingle, but " the double thereof. As I am a true prince, ye shall; " be answered in all things what somever ye will give " me in memorial; on this condition, that my bro-" ther, the king of Scotland, will keep his oath and " band with me, that he hath made lately with con-" fent of his parliament; and I likewife to him shall "keep my oath of fidelity, which I made with con-" fent of my lords, by touching the holy Evangel, " and our great feals and hand-writ interchanged " thereupon, that never one of us should fail to ano-" ther, for no other man's pleasure, but shall live in " peace and rest, with charity and concord, as chris-" tian men and good neighbours ought to do. There-" fore I defire my brother, the king of Scotland, for " the love of Almighty God, and Jesus Christ his son, " which is the author and ground of all peace and " rest, that he would fit in his chair, and let me and " the French king part among us, that I may feek " my own right and just pension, which is holden " from me wrongoully, by the pride and avarice of " France: Therefore I defire him to fit still, and " be judge to us both; and if he does me no good, " do me no evil. And also shew him, that it shall " be neither filver nor gold, land-rent nor riches, that " shall stand betwixt me and him, in difference; and " that, if he believe not this, fend me an answer " haltily, before I depart out of England to France, " and I shall deliver his desires unto them, together " with any other lands or rents that he defires. And " if he will promise faithfully to keep this band forees faid

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"faid to me, I shall incontinent, with all the consent of my nobles, make him duke of York, and governor of England to my home-coming; for the heirs of England must either come of me or him, and I have none, as yet, lawfully of my body; but I hear fay, that MARGARET, my eldest lister, hath a pretty boy, appearantly to be a man of estimation. I pray God to bless him, and keep him from his enemies, and give me grace, that I may see him in honour and estimation, when he cometh to age, that I may entertain him according to my homour and duty."

This answer ended by the king of England, and delivered to the embassador, the bishop foresaid, who, when he was dispatching his way, got his reward very greatly of gold and filver, and fair hackneys to ride upon: And also he got the priory of Condembeck, which was in rent, by year, four thousand angelnobles, by the convent thereof This bishop took leave, and passed in Scotland hastily, and shewed the king of England's answer.

Of this answer the king was well contented and satisfied, thinking, on no ways, he could refuse so fair offers as his brother the king of England had promised him; and consulted with himself, and his council consulted, that he would on no ways, invade England at that time, for no favour that he had to France. And, to that effect, he sent away this bishop into France, promising them any support or help that he could make them, but he would not pass in England, at that time, to invade his brother, because he was sworn thereto in the contrary: But he promised that he would send them an army by sea, to support them as they pleased; and incontinent the king gart victual

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and furnish his great ship with all kind of orders, and chused sour hardy men to be quarter-masters of her, and made the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, captain and great-admiral, and made the lord Fleming vice-admiral, to sail in the Margaret, and the lord Ross of Hacket in the James which were the king's great ships at that time; who were well furnished with earls, lords and barons, to the number of ten thousand, who were well arrayed for battle.

And the earl of Arran, having charge to pass with them wherever he pleased, and in special to France, where the army was lying for the time, debating against the Englishmen, thinking that their support should cause the Englishmen and their king to return: But all was for nought. For the earl of Arran, admiral of the said navy of Scotland, kept no direction of the king his master, but past to the west sea, upon the coast of Ireland, and there landed and burnt Craig-sergus, with other villages, and then came forenent the town of Air, and there landed and reposed, and played them the space of forty days.

In this mean time, bishop FORMAN being in France, with the king and court thereof, who had promised support to the king of France, by his master's direction, and looked daily for the same; and because he could see nothing to succeed of his promise, he wrote home a sharp bill to the king, making mention to him, "That his honour was tint for ever, if he sent not hastily support to the king of France, conform to his promise, which he had made in his name." Also the queen of France wrote a love-letter to the king of Scotland, calling him, her love; shewing him, "That she had suffered much rebuke for his sake, in France, for the desending of his honour." She believed furely,

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furely, that he would recompence her again, with fome of his kingly support, in her necessity, that is to fay, that he would raise her an army, and come three foot of ground on English ground, for her sake: To that effect, she sent him a ring off her singer, with sourteen thousand French crowns, to make his expences.

By thir letters came to the king's majefty, he knew well that his navy had not past the right way; and shortly hereaster got wit, that they were landed at the town of Air; which displeased the king very greatly: For he believed furely, that they had been in France at the farthest tryst. But because that they had not kept his direction, he fent Sir ANDREW WOOD. with other gentlemen, with herald of arms, and difcharged the earl of Arran of his admiralship; and vowed to God that he should never bruik heritage in Scotland after that day. But this lord hearing the terrible message of the king, and thought he would not obey, and give over the admiralship, as the king had commanded, but passed to the sea, and pulled up fails, and passed where he pleased, thinking that he would come to France in due time.

The king hearing of his unprosperous journey, seeing that France would get no support of him for that time, made a proclamation sull hastily, through all the realm of Scotland, both east and west, south and north, as well in the isles as in the firm land, that all manner of men betwixt sixty and sixteen years, that they should be ready, within twenty days, to pass with him, with forty days victual, and to meet at the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh, and there to pass forward where he pleased. His proclamations were hastily obeyed, contrary the council of Scotland's will. But

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every man loved his prince fo well, that they would, on no ways, difobey him; but every man caufed make his proclamation fo haftily, conform to the charge of the king's proclamation.

The king came to Linlithgow, where he happened to be for the time at the council, very fad and dolorous, making his devotion to God to fend him good chance and fortune in his voyage. In this mean time, there came a man clad in a blue gown in at the kirk. door, and belted about him in a roll of linnen cloth. a pair of brotikins on his feet, to the great of his legs, with all other hofe and clothes conform thereto; but he had nothing on his head, but fyde fed yellow hair behind, and on his haffits, which wan down to his shoulders: but his forehead was bald and bare. He feemed to be a man of two and fifty years, with a great pyke-staff in his hand, and came first forward among the lords, crying and speiring for the king, faying, " He defired to speak with him." While, at the last, he came where the king was fitting in the defk at his prayers: But when he faw the king, he made him little reverence or falutation, but leaned down groffins on the desk before him, and faid to him in this manner, as after follows. " Sir King, my mother hath fent " me to you, desiring you not to pass, at this time " where thou art purposed; for, if thou does, thou " wilt not fare well in thy journey, nor none that paf-" feth with thee. Further, the bade thee mell with " no woman, nor use their-counsel, nor let them touch " thy body, nor thou theirs; for, if thou do it, thou " wilt be confounded and brought to fhame."

By this man had spoken thir words unto the king's grace, the evening song was near done; and the king paused on thir words, studying to give him an answer:

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But, in the mean time, before the king's eyes, and in presence of all the lords that were about him for the time, this man vanished away, and could noways be feen nor comprehended, but vanished away as he had been a blink of the fun, or a whip of the whirlwind, and could no more be feen. I heard fay, Sir DAVID LINDSAY lyon herald, and JOHN INGLIS the marshal, who were, at that time, young men, and special fervants to the king's grace, were standing presently belide the king, who thought to have laid hands on this man, that they might have speired further tidings at him: But all for nought; they could not touch him; for he vanished away betwixt them, and was no more feen.

Yet all thir warnings and uncouth tidings, nor no good counsel, might stop the king, at this present, from his vain purpose and wicked enterprize, but hasted him fast to Edinburgh, and there to make his provision and furnishing in having forth of his army against the day appointed, that they should meet in the Burrow-muir of Edinburgh; that is to fay, feven cannons that he had forth of the castle of Edinburgh, which were called The Seven Sifters, caften by Ro-BERT BORTHWICK the master-gunner, with other fmall artiflery, bu'let, powder, and all manner of ordnance, as the master-gunner could devise.

In this mean time, when they were taking forth their artillery, and the king being in the abbey for the time, there was a cry heard at the market-cross of Edinburgh, at the hour of midnight, proclaiming as it had been a summons, which was named and called by the proclaimer thereof, The Summons of Plotcock; which defired all men, " To compear, both " earl and lord, and baron and gentleman, and all ho-28200

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" nest gentleman within the town (every man spe-"cified by his own name) to compear within the " fpace of forty days, before his master, where it " should happen him to appoint, and be for the time, " under the pain of disobedience." But whether this fummons was proclaimed by vain persons, nightwalkers, or drunk men, for their pastime, or if it was but a spirit, I cannot tell truly: But it was shewn to me, that an inn-dweller of the town, Mr. RICHARD LAWSON, being evil-disposed, ganging in his gallery. Stair forenent the cross, hearing this voice proclaim ing this summons, thought marvel what it should be cried on his fervant to bring him his purfe; and when he had brought him it, he took out a crown, and cast over the stair, faying, " I appeal from that fummons, " judgment and fentence thereof, and takes me all " whole in the mercy of God, and Christ Jesus his " fon." Verily, the author of this, that caused me write the manner of the fummons, was a landed gentleman, who was, at that time, twenty years of age, and was in the town the time of the faid fummons; and thereafter, when the field was stricken, he fwore to me, there was no man that escaped that was called in this fummons, but that one man alone, which made his protestation, and appealed from the faid fummons; but all the lave were perished in the field with the king.

Thir novels passed through the town to every man; and, at last, they came to the king's ears, who gave them but little credence, and resused utterly all wise and godly counsel, which was to his honour, and the commenweal of the country; and would use no counsel of his prudent wise MARGARET queen of Scotland, for no prayer nor supplication that she could make:

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make: Shewing to him, that she had but one son to him, which was but a weak warrant to the realm of Scotland, and oversoon to him to pass to battle, leaving fuch small succession behind him : Therefore she thought it best, that he should tarry till God send them more fruit of his body; for she assured him, if he passed in England, at that time, he would get battle. Yet this wife counsel and admonition was of no ways accepted, nor taken in good part by him; because she was the king of England's fifter, and therefore was the less regarded. Yet this noblewoman did her duty and labour, fo far as she might, for the well of her husband, and the commonweal of the country, and also for the love she bore to her brother, the king of England, desiring no discord to be betwixt the two realms in her time.

But, nevertheless, nothing would be heard, but forward the king went unto the place, where the musters were received, that is to fay, in the Burrow-muir befide Edinburgh; where there affembled the king, and all his lords, barons, burgeffes and freeholders, and all manner of men betwixt fixty and fixteen, as well spiritual as temporal, both burgh and land, as well the out-ifles as the firm land, which haftily came, and were to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, together with the carriage-men and artillery, which was to the number of thirty shot of great artillery, and thirty field pieces, with all their ordnance of powder and bullet; and passed syne forward to Esk. and camped there; and, on the morrow, went to Wark and Norham, and cast them down: And thereafter went to Foord, and cast it down. Great slaughter was made of the king's men that stood about the house, in the flyings of the timber. Some fay the

lady of Foord was a beautiful woman, and that the king meddled with her; and also his fon ALEXAN. DER STUART, bishop of St. Andrews, with her daughter; which was against God's commandments, and against the order of all good captains of war, to begin at whoredom and harlotry before any good success of battle or victory had fallen unto them; and fornication had a great part of the wyte of their evil success.

Notwithstanding the king continued still there the space of twenty days without battle; till, at the last all the victuals and vivers of the commons were spent, and many of the far north-land and issess men were spent and wasted in the samine, in this same manner that it was force to them to pass home; and every ford and gentleman sent one or two home of their special friends, to bring them victuals in this ways; then baid not with the king above ten thousand men, by borderers and countrymen; yet the king's grace took no sear, because he believed no battle of the Englishmen at that time.

But this wicked lady of Foord, feeing the king's hoft so dispersed for lack of victuals, and knowing all the fecrets that were among the king's men and army, both of the king himself and his secret council; and this experience the had by her frequent whoredom with the king, and also her daughter with his son, which moved her to ask licence at the king to pass inward in the country, to speak with certain of her friends, declaring to the king, that the should bring him all novels out of the fouth country, what they were doing, or what was their purpose for to do, defiring his grace to remain to her coming. And he again, as an effeminate prince, subdued and enticed by the allurement and false deceit of this wicked woman, her over haftily credence in this behalf, and believed

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lieved furely all had been true that fhe promised: To that effect gart convoy her a certain way from the holts as the defired: But this lady thinking nothing that the had promifed to the king, that, on no ways the would keep it, for the love she bore her native country; but haltily past with a deceitful mind, to the earl of Surrey. where he was lying at York at that time; and shewed to him the whole fecrets of the king of Scotland and his army; what point he was at, and how his men were departed from him, for lack of victuals; and that there were not bidden with him but ten thousand men of all his army: Therefore the thought it expedient, that the earl of Surrey should come forward, with all that he might be at that time. She promifed to them that they should have victory; for she, by her craft and ingine, should deceive the king, fo far as the could; to

Thir novels being come to the earl of Surrey, by this wicked woman, he was very glad thereof, and thanked her greatly of her labours and travels the took for her native country; promiting to her, that within three days, he should meet the king of Scotland, and give him battle.

In this mean time, there were letters come to the earl of Surrey, that his son, the lord Howard, was landed at Dover, six thousand men of war with him, of the best of all king HARRY's armies, sent to him by the said HARRY, who was lying in France at this time, seeking his pension; and got word, that the king of Scotland was come in England, invading his realm, for love of France; which was contrarious to the law of God, the welfare of both the said realms of England and Scotland, considering the promise, bands, alliance made betwixt both the said realms, as we have

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shewn before to you. Notwithstanding, the king of England lamented heavily the unkindness of his good-brother the king of Scots: And therefore he wrote home a commission to the earl of Surrey, that he should be lieutenant for the time, and raise the whole body of England, both gentlemen and commons, and cause them pass forward against the king of Scotland, to defend their realm; giving him an express command, that he should not invade the king of Scotland, by any manner of way, but in his own defence; nor should not pursue the king of Scotland, nor none of his, in Scottish ground; but defend themselves within the realm of England.

The earl of Surrey, hearing the letters of commiffion prefented by his fon, was very rejoiced; and also of the home-coming of his fon lord Howard; and took fuch courage, that he affembled all his army of England, and made their musters incontinent, to the number of fifty thousand gentlemen and commons. The captains hereof were, the earl of Surrey, principal lieutenant to the king's grace; and under him his fon lord Howard, principal governor of the hoft; and the lord Dacres marshal, the lord of Westmoreland, and the Percies of Northumberland, were chiftains of the vanguard. And thus, in all possible haste, marched forward toward the Scots, where they lay for the time, to wit, at Floudon-hills, taking no care of no enemies to invade them at that time, and specially of Englishmen: For the king, nor none of his council, knew of the earl of Surrey's coming, nor yet believed to have had battle of him, nor of none other of England at that time, confidering the king was not present in the realm.

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Thus the king of Scotland, so insolent, having no foresight nor moyen in the country, lay still, taking no thought, as a man uncounselable, which would do nothing for his lords and his captains, for the safeguard of his host, and commonweal of his nobles; nor yet for obtaining of victory, and defending of his own honour; but lying still abiding the lady of Foord's coming: But all for nought; for she did nothing but deceived him, and came not again till the English army came with her. So the king of Scotland never knew the coming of the army of England, while they were within the space of three miles, arrayed in seven great battles.

When thir novels were shown to the king of Scotland, he would scantly credit them; but lap on horse, and rode to the hills to visit them: But when he saw them coming so fast forward, he caused to sound his trumpets, and put his men in array, and ordained to

charge his artillery, and make all ready.

In this mean time, the lords passed to the council, thinking they would not suffer the king to give battles at that time, to a man of low degree. But when the lords passed to the council, as said is, the king disguised himself, and came privily and heard every lord's vote, and what was their conclusion toward his proceedings: To wit, the lords devised and charged PATRICK lord Lindsay to be chancellor, and first voter in the council, because he was best learned, and of greatest age, and had greatest experience amongst them all at that time. They required of him, if he thought good, that the king should give battle to England, at that time, or not. The lord Lindsay, being ripely advised in this matter, seeing the proceedings, conversation and behaviour of the king, answered to

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the lords in this manner, as after follows, faying " My lords, ye defire my opinion and judgment, if " the king should give battle to England, or not. My of lords, I will give you forth a similitude, desiring you to know my mind by the fame hereafter. I com-" pare your lordships to an honest merchant, who " would, in his voyage, go to the dice with a com-" mon hazarder, and there to jeopardy a rofe-noble, " on a cast, against a gleed half-penny; which, if " this merchant wins, it will be counted but little, or " else nought; but, if he tynes, he tynes his honour, " with that piece of gold, which is of more value. " So, my lords, ye may understand by this, ye shall " be called the merchant, and your king a role. " noble, and England the common hazarder, who " have nothing to jeopardy but a gleed half-penny, " in comparison of your noble king, and an old crook-" ed caril lying in a chariot; and though they tyne " him, they tyne but little; but if we jeopardy our " noble king at this time, with a fimple wight, and " happen to tyne him, we will be called evil mer-" chants, and far worse counfellers to his majesty: " For if we tyne him, we tyne the whole realm of " Scotland, and the whole nobility thereof; for none, " my lords, at this time, have bidden but gentlemen; " the commons are all departed from us, for lack of " victual; so that it is not decent nor feemly to us, " that we should jeopardy our noble king and his no-" bility, with an old crooked caril, and certain futors " and taylors with him in company: But better it " were, to cause the king remove, and certain of " his lords with him; and, whom he thinks most expedient, to take the matter in hand, and jeopardy "themselves for the king's pleasure, and their own " honour, 5 13

honour, and the commonweal of the country at this time: And if your fordships will conclude in this

" manner, I think it belt for my own part."

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By this the lord Lindsay had voted in this manner, the whole lords were content of his conclusion, and nominate certain lords to take the battles in hand, that is to say, the earl of Huntley in the north, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Crawford, the earl of Marfhal; and, in the west part of Scotland, the earl of Glencairn, the lord Graham, the lord Maxwel; and in the south, the earl of Angus, the earl of Bothwel, the lord Hume, to be rulers of the king's host, and sight in battle against England; and the king to pass, with a certain company of his nobility, a little from the army, where he might see the valiant acts of both the sides, and be in safeguard himself.

This being devised and spoken, and finally concluded with all the whole lords; the king, nearhand by, disguised, as I shewed to you before, desiring to hear their counsel and conclusion, and to be unknown of them, burst forth, and answered unhappily in this manners as after follows, saying to them, in a surious rage, "My lords, I shall sight this day against England, "though ye had sworn the contrary; though ye would all slee from me, and shame yourselves, ye shall not shame me, as ye devise: And to lord PATRICK LINDSAY, that has gotten the first vote, I vow to God, I shall never see Scotland soon- er, than I shall cause hang him on his own gate."

Thus the lords were altonished at the king's anfwer, seeing him into a fury, and were sain to satisfy his pleasure, and serve his appetite in all things, as he commanded.

By this the watches came, and shewed the king the English army was at hand, marching falt forward within the space of a Scottish mile. Then the king caused blow the trumpets, and fet his men in order of battle; to wit, he gave the vanguard to the earl of Huntley, and to the lord Hume, who were in number ten thoufand men; and took the great battle unto himself, with all the nobility of Scotland, which passed not above twenty thousand men, and marched forward a little in the fight of the Englishmen, which were then passing over the bridge to them. The master-gunner came in presence of the king, and fell on his knees, desiring at the king's grace, that he might shoot his artillery at the English host, where they were coming over the bridge of Till; for he promised and took in hand, he should cut the bridge at their over-coming, that the king should have no displeasure at the one half, while the other should be devoured : for he stiled his artillery for the bridge, and they came thereon. The king answered to ROBERT BORTHWICK his gunner, like a man that had been rest of his wit, saying to him, " I shall hang thee, quarter thee, and " draw thee, if thou shoot one shot this day. I am determined, that I will have them all before me on " a plain field, and fee them what they can do all be-" fore me."

The Englishmen were come all over the bridge, and the vanguards were marching near together; to wit, the Scottish vanguard, the earl of Huntley, the lord Hume, with the borderers, and country-men thereof in like manner, who joined cruelly on every side, and fought cruelly with uncertain victory: But, at last, the earl of Huntley's Highland-men, with their bows and

and two-handed swords, wrought so manfully, that they deseat the Englishmen, without any slaughter on their side. Then the earl of Huntley and lord Hume blew their trumpets, and convened their men again into their standards.

By this the two great battles of England came forward upon the king's battle, and joined awfully at the found of the trumpet, and fought furiously a long while; but, at last, the king of Scotland defeat them both. Then the great battle of England, led by the lord Howard, who was, under his father the earl of Surrey, governor of that battle, who came furiously upon the king, to the number of twenty thousand fresh men: But the king's battle encountred them hardily, and fought manfully on both the fides, with uncertain victory, till that the streams of blood ran on either fide, so abundantly, that all the fields and waters were made red with the confluence thereof. The earl of Huntley and the lord Hume then standing in arrayed battle, who had win the vanguard before, and few of their men either hurt or flain; the earl of Huntley defired at the lord Hume, that he would help the king, and rescue him in his extremity; for he faid, that he was overset with the multitude of men. Notwithstanding the lord Hume answered the earl of Huntley in this manner, faying, " He does well that " does for himfelf. We have foughten our vanguards, "and have win the fame: Therefore let the lave " do their part, as well as we." The earl of Huntley answered again, and said, " He could not suffer his " native prince to be overcome with his enemies be-" fore his eyes :" Therefore called his men together by fluggorn, and found of trumpets, to have past to the king: But ere he came, all was defeat on either fide,

fide, that few or none was living, neither on the king's part, nor on the other.

Some fay, there came four men upon four horses riding to the field, with four spears, and a wisp on every spear-head, to be a fign and witter to them, that every one of them should know other. rode in the field, and horfed the king, and brought him forth of the field on a din backney: But some fay they had him into The Merfe, betwixt Dunfe and Kelfo; what they did with him there I cannot tell; But one, ten years thereafter, convicted of flaughter. offered to the duke of Albany, for his life, to let him fee the place where the prince was yearded; to the token, he should let him see his belt of iron lying beside him in the grave: But, notwithstanding, this man got no audience by them that were about him; the duke of Albany defired nor, at that time, that fuch thing should be known. But we will leave this, and return to our purpose.

The field, discomfeist in this manner, on both the sides; for neither England nor Scotland knew who had the better in that battle, but that the Scottish-men mist their king; for there was ever two Englishmen slain for one Scottish-man; and so many of the Englishmen that were alive, retired to the earl of Surrey, and lord Howard his son, and retired a little from the field, and stood on their feet that night, while, on the morn at nine hours, not knowing who had win or tint the field: And likewise the lord Hume stood all that night on his feet, with the number of ten thousand men; while, on the morrow that the sun rose, he seeing no noise, neither of English nor Scots, departed his way, and less the king's artillery behind him, which he might have had rescued, and brought with him if

he had pleased: For I heard fay, upon the morn at ten hours, that a hundred Scottish-men might have brought away the king's artillery fafely, without any ftop of Englishmen. But soon after, the Englishmen hearing that the lord Hume was retired from the field. came foon together with the number that they might be, carted it, and had it away to Berwick, where much of it remains to this day; fyne went through the field feeking the noblemen who were flain, and in special the king's grace. They found many like him, clad in his coat of armour, but no man could fay furely, that it was he; because, the same day of the field, he caused ten to be clad in his coat of armour; among the rest there were two of his guard, the one called ALEXANDER MACULLOCH, and the other The Squire of Cleisch, which were men of makedom both like the king: Therefore when they were dead gotten in the field, and the king's coat of armour upon them, the Englishmen believing that one of them was the king, they took one of them, whom they thought most apparently to be like the king, and cast him in a chariot, and had him away to England with them: But yet we know furely they got not the king, because they had never the token of the iron belt to shew to no Scottish-man. This forrowful battle was stricken and ended, on this manner, at Floudon hills, in the month of September the ninth day, the year of God one thousand five hundred and thirteen; and of his reign the twenty fifth year.

JAMES IV. unhappily flain in this manner, with many of his nobles; not by the manhood and wisdom of Englishmen, but by the king's own misgovernance, that would not use the counsel of his wise nobles in desending of his honour, and preserving of his

army; but used himself to his own sensual pleasures. which was the cause of his ruin : Therefore all other princes may take example by him, which refused honest and good counsel, and specially of them which were the principal defenders of the realm: Though he was the head, they were the arms, and the special defence of the whole body; for ofttimes it is heard and feen, that the arms defend the head when it is purfued by violence; and are the buckler that man doth present for the safeguard of the head, though the head fometimes makes little defence to the arms: as so is seen of this unfortunate king, that brought his barons to fuch a point, through his wilful mifgovernance, that they were all cruelly murdered and flain, in his default, and not in theirs. But now we will let him rest with God, and speak of his son JAMES V. and how the realm was guided in his minority.

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HISTORY

OF

KING JAMES V.

JAMES V. being the age of two years and five months, by advice of the lords, was crowned at Stirling the twentieth day thereafter, and was in government and keeping of his mother, MARGARET queen of Scotland, who chused a guard to be about her son, for safeguard of his body, to wit, the lord Evandale and his brother.

In this mean time, king HARRY VIII. of England obtained his pension; and hearing the king of Scotland's death, was very heavily displeased therewith, and gave command to his nobles and borderers of England, under the pain of treason, that none of them should pass in Scotland, to invade the same, induring the king's minority: And this he commanded straitly, and set out letters thereupon, for love of his sister and sister's son; thinking that nought should fail on his side, in observing of the band made betwixt the king of Scotland and him. Notwithstanding, the bor-

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derers of Scotland were ever doing what they might to break the fame.

Yet soon afterhend there came great trouble in Scotland among ourselves; partly for the authority, who should be highest, and have the realm in government; and partly for old sead and slaughter that had been before, in king James IV. his time: Thinking, that it was then time to quit commons, when the prince was young and no authority to reign above them: For James earl of Arran pretended highest in this realm, to have the government thereof, thinking that he was nearest of blood unto the king in the realm of Scotland, at that time: But yet the lords of Scotland would noways be content that he had any pre-eminence or authority, so long as the queen kept her widow-hood, and her body clean from leachery.

But short time after this the earl of Angus haunted the court, and was very lufty in the queen's fight, whom she loved, and thought most able; and she took him to her husband, without the advice and counsel of the lords; for they knew nothing thereof a long time after. Then the earl of Arran, being advertised of her behaviour and proceedings, affembled all his kinsmen and friends together, and then past to Edinburgh, and defired the lords to a convention, shewing to them, that the queen had tint her government of the prince, and the authority of the country, because the had taken a husband without the lords advice: Therefore desired them that he might have the authority, as nearest to him of the blood. The lords hearing this, would conclude nothing at that time, while they were further advised.

In the mean time the earl of Angus, getting wit of this convention, and the effect of their purpole,

came pertly to the town of Edinburgh, with his kin and friends in company, which were the number of four hundred spears, well arrayed in jack and spear, and other armour, according to their estate; fyne took his lodging for that night. But as foon as the earl of Arran and bishop JAMES BEATON, and the lave of his complices, got wit the earl of Angus was come to the town, and but a few number with him, to the effect of their multitude, caused incontinent steik the port of the town, and thought to have taken him and put him in prison: But his friends, being advertised thereof, watched starkly that night; while on the morn, they come and shewed the earl of Angus the provision that was making for him, shewing him, that if he passed not hastily to the gate, and defend himfelf manfully, he would be taken out of his lodging with his enemies, and led captive at their pleasure.

This the young lord was nothing content with, but hasted him to his armour, and caused his friends and fervants to do the same; and past to the gate manfully, and stood at the Nether-bow in arrayed battle. But Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS, bishop of Dunkeld, past betwixt, to fee if he could find any good ways betwixt the two parties; and in special he past to bishop JAMES BEATON, where he was in the Black-Friers kirk for the time. The faid Mr. GAVIN defired the faid bishop JAMES BEATON, to take some pains to labour betwixt the two parties, who were at a sharp point; and some say, my lord, you have the wyte. But the bishop enswered him again with an oath (clapping on his breaft) By my confeience I know not the matter. But when Mr. GAVIN heard the bishop's purgation, and how he clapped on his breaft, and perceived the plats of his jack clattering, thought all

but vain that he had spoken; and answered, and said unto him, "I perceive, my lord, your conscience is "not good, for I hear it clatter. Of this the bishop was ashamed, and excused the matter so far as he could safely with his honesty. But Mr. Gavin, seeing him in this estate standing, passed from him to Sir Patrick Hamilton, desiring him, in like manner, to speak with his brother the lord of Arran, that he would be contented, that my lord of Angus might pass to the castle, and speak with the queen's grace, and thereaster to depart forth of the town without molestation or trouble of any man.

At the whilk request Sir PATRICK HAMILTON went, with all diligence, to his brother my lord of Arran, and shewed him my lord of Angus's desire, by his uncle Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS. Of the which desire my lord Arran was well content, that my lord of Angus should have done his business in the town at his pleasure, and to depart when he list, without molestation or trouble; and this by the solistation of Sir PATRICK HAMILTON his brother. But Sir JAMES HAMILTON his son, that bloody butcher, ever thirst-ing for blood, was noways content of this appointment, but raged at the said Sir PATRICK for his labours, saying to him, "He had no will to sight in "his friend's action nor quarrel, though it were never so just."

At thir novels the said Sir PATRICK was so grieved, and burnt in anger as the fire, and answered the said Sir James in this manner, saying to him, "Ba-" stard-sinaik, thou liest sallely, I shall sight this day where thou dare not be seen." And with this rushed rudely out of their lodgings, and past to the high-gate in a surious rage: But when the earl of Angus

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faw them coming, and perceived Sir PATRICK HAMIL-TON foremost, with him the master of Montgomery, and faw them in fuch a fury, he knew well there was nothing but fighting; and cried on his men to fave Sir PATRICK HAMILTON, if they might: But he came fo far before the lave, that he was flain hastily, and with him the master of Montgomery, with many other gentlemen and yeomen, to the number of threefcore twelve persons. The earl and all his company gave backs, and were chased, and ran away outthrough the loch; and Sir JAMES his fon chased in the same manner; and bishop JAMES BEATON fled to the Black-Friers, and was taken out behind the high altar, and his rocket riven off him, and had been flain, were not Mr. GAVIN DOUGLAS requested affectuously for him, faying, " It was fin to put hand " in a confecrated bishop: Therefore they saved him at that time. But the earl of Angus past to the caltle, and spake with the queen at his pleasure: And fo the Douglasses kept the gate and their honour at this time. Long time afterward this skirmish was called, by the commons of the country and town of Edinburgh, "Cleanse the Caseway." The date of this skirmish was in the year of God, one thousand five hundred and fifteen, in the month of May.

Short while after this, the earl of Angus became very proud and infolent in all his doings, thinking, whoever had right to the authority he should be nearest. To that effect he cherished all loose men, and most part thieves and traitors of Anandale, Liddisdale and Teviotdale, that his company, wherever they passed, made great hership, thest and slaughter; and sometime in the Merse and Lothian, where the lord Hume and his friends had dominion. The lord Hume

being a wife and natural man, confidered the earl of Angus's proceedings, and the great favour and love he had of the queen, and the victory he had of the earl of Arran, thinking, that, if he had raxed any longer without correction, and a fall, that he would overcome the whole country, and that by the young counfel he had about him.

The lord Hume, feeing this, fet his intent to put remeid hereunto; and convened a council, by his moyens, of the most part of the nobility at Edinburgh, shewing to them, that the realm was evil guided, and overhaled by my lord of Angus and his men, on the one part; and my lord of Arran, on the other part; striving daily for the authority; howbeit neither of them had right thereto: Therefore desired their wisdoms, that they would fend to France to the duke of Albany, who was the righteous governor of this realm, and desire him to come and receive the authority and guidship of the country, to put order thereunto during the king's minority.

guidship of the country, to put order thereunto during the king's minority. The lords, hearing this, caused the chancellor to answer to the lord Hume, who said unto him in this manner, " My lord, the duke of Albany is a Frenchman " born; though he be nearest of blood to have the " government of this realm, yet he hath not our lan-" guage, nor knows not the nature of our country, nor " laws, nor execution thereof, so well as our own lords, " that are born and gotten in Scotland, and have our " language; and therefore, my lord, I think it best " for me to chuse one of our own lords, who under-" stands us, and we him, and knows the qualities of " Scotland." Further, the chancellor nominated two. to wit, the earl of Arran, and the earl of Lenox. thinking they would chuse one of thir two. But the lord

ul er r lord Hume answered the chancellor very sharply again, and said to him in this manner. "My lord, trow you, or any lord that is here present at this time, "to defraud the duke of Albany of his right, and just "title of the government of Scotland, by your al- legeance, or any cause or motion that ye can propose at this time? For I assure you he shall and will come in Scotland, contrary all them that would not; and if no man will consent thereto, I will consent; and, sailing his home-coming I shall "rather pass for him myself."

The chancellor and the lords hearing this, the lord Hume was fo fervent in the duke of Albany's cause, speired at the lord Hume, if he would first subscribe the election of the duke of Albany, and they would follow fyne, and subscribe; who answered and said, he would with good-will: And immediately took the pen in his own hand, and subscribed the said election. Then all the lave of the lords and barons subscribed the same; and directed their commission thereupon to an embassador, to wit, Sir ANDREW WOOD of of Largo, directing him to France to the duke of Albany, defiring him to come into Scotland to receive the government thereof, by his own just title and their election, and their hand-writs given thereupon. This Sir ANDREW WOOD made him ready, and dreffed his ship to pass forward this message.

But, in this mean time, bishop ANDREW FORMAN of Murray, and legate of Scotland for the time, had many of the benefices in his hands, by reason he was legate; and principally of the bishopric of St. Andrews, who had provided the bulls thereof to himself; but he, on no ways, could get them proclaimed, nor durst not intend the same, for fear of the Hepburns; be-

cause prior JOHN HEPBURN was vicar-general of the bishoprick of St. Andrews, and uptook the profit thereof: Therefore he, nor none of his friends, had no will that bishop ANDREW FORMAN's bulls should be proclaimed, but stopt them with all their power, that neither into St. Andrews nor Edinburgh, none durst intimate nor proclaim them, for fear of the

faid prior and his friends.

This bishop Forman, seeing this, made his moan and complaint to the lord Hume, shewing him that he was a Merse-man born, and all his kin and friends fervants to him and his house: Wherefore he defired him to cause his bulls to be proclaimed, and to fortify him against the Hepburns: To that effect he gave him the priory of Coldingham to give to his brother, which was vacant in his hands at that time, by reason he was legate. The lord Hume, feeing bishop For-MAN's liberality to him, caused his brother Mr. WILLIAM HUME pass to Edinburgh, with the number of ten thousand men, and there proclaimed the faid bishop's bulls, contrary all the Hepburns wills and might, at that time : And also past to St. Andrews and intimated the same, and to give the bishop institution and possession of the said bishoprick. But prior JOHN HEPBURN, hearing of this, convened his friends, fervants and tenants, whom he had of gentlemen of Fife, and manned the kirk of St. Andrews with men, weapons and artillery, that on no ways, he would let the faid bishop enter therein, but at his pleafure; and likewise kept the said castle straitly against him, that he could get no entrance, neither in kirk nor castle. The bishop, seeing this, thought well it was but gear that would make the matter even betwixt them, caused his friends to labour to that effect to satisfy

tisfy the prior's stubborn mind; and, by the counsel of wise men, gave to this prior the vicar-generalship free, together with three thousand pounds, to give among his friends; and so satisfied him on this manner. But prior John conceived sik hatred against the Humes, for taking part against him with this bishop, that his malice nor envy was never quenched, so long as the lord Hume or his brother were on life, as ye shall know afterward.

In this mean time, Sir ANDREW WOOD past to France, and shewed the duke of Albany his commission that he had from the lords of Scotland, and in special from the lord Hume; defiring him to come in Scotland, as I have shewn before, and there to receive the government thereof, that justice may be ministrate according to the laws of this realm. Of this meffage and commission the duke of Albany was very well content, and thanked Sir ANDREW WOOD greatly, and rewarded him for his labours; and fyne passed to the king of France, and defired his licence thereunto. shewing the commission was brought to him out of Scotland, to be governor, as we have shewn, desiring the king of France for support of men and money to pass with him to Scotland, who granted to him very gently all that he would defire, and was very forrowful at his departing out of France; because he was such a man of war, that he left not his maik in the realm of France behind.

Notwithstanding the duke passed to the sea with five hundred men and artillery, such as he could provide; that is to say, five hundred men of war, twenty sour gentlemen in his guard, together with powder and bullet, such as he might furnish at that time, that is to say, six great cannons, and six great field pieces, with other

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finall artillery, with culvering, hagbut and cors-bow; and then passed hastily to ship-board, and pulled up fail to pass to Scotland: But the Englishmen, knowing of his coming, made for him to have foughten with him; but he was fo well artilleried and manned, that they durft not mell with him; because they knew he was a noble man of war, they let him pass by without any impediment. So he came hastily in Scotland, and landed the tenth day of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen; who was well received in Scotland with all the nobility and commons thereof, thanking God that they had gotten one of the blood-royal of Scotland to reign over them, and govern them by justice in the king's minority. To that effect the lords incontinent convened at Edinburgh, and fet a parliament, that the duke of Albany might be received as their protector and governor.

This parliament was fet in the month of July, in the year of God above-written, which was holden at Edinburgh by confent of the queen and whole nobility, both spiritual and temporal, with commissioners of burroughs: And there, really, and with essect, received and admitted the duke of Albany their protector, and governor of Scotland; and thereto made the oath of sidelity to him, to be leill, true and obedient unto the king's majesty, and his desence of the commonweal, and ministration of justice enduring the king's minority. And likewise the duke of Albany made his oath unto them, in presence of the whole parliament, that he should be true to God and to the king, and to them, to minister justice equally, both to great and small, without exception of persons; and to desend

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heir commonweal and liberty fo far as lay in his

This being done, the whole lords and commons were glad at the duke of Albany's presence, because they had so long wanted a head to govern them; thinking that there would be no strife nor debate in the country unpunished, but they would know to whom to complain, when thest, reiss and slaughter were committed in the country.

Then prior JOHN HEPBURN of St. Andrews clamb next the governor, and grew great in the court. and remembred of old malice and envy betwixt him and the Humes; and also of the bishop ANDREW FORMAN, and shewed the duke, who was then governor, of all the fecrets and demerits of the lord Hume. and his father, and his brother, from the field of Bannockburn to the field of Floudon; and specially how the lord Hume and his father had used themselves toward the duke's father and his brother in their banish. ment, with all fecrets and invention that he could invent contrary the lord Hume and his brother, to caufe the duke of Albany look down upon them : And also shewing how bishop FORMAN had gathered all the substance of Scotland into his hand, by his legateship; and caused the duke to thraw with him, till he gave over certain benefices to the duke, to give unto his friends, and fpecially the bishoprick of Murray, and abbayship of Scoon; which he gave to his brother bishop ALEXANDER, who enjoyed and bruiked the fame long time thereafter; and abbacy of Melrofs to bishop JAMES BEATON, with many other benefices, by many others he gave to the duke to win his favour.

In this mean time the governor past through the country, to danton all theft, reiff and flaughter committed before in the king's young age. But when he came to Kelfo, Jedburgh and Melrofs, and there heard the complaint of the people, and the complaints made upon the earl of Angus, the lord Hume, and other great men, who had opprest the country in time when there was no justice ministrate, for inlack of a head to plaint to: The governor, hearing thir great complaints, was very forrowful in his heart, fetting his whole intent to remeid the same. Howbeit, the great lords could not be content therewith; yet he passed forward to Dumfries, and to the town of Air, and parts of the West-land, and heard of the cruel slaughter betwixt the lord Montgomery, the lord Kilmaurs, and the lord Semple. And, finally, passed to the north of Scotland, and heard the complaints there, in like manner; and fyne came again to Edinburgh, and there advised with his council, what was best to be done in this matter, and how he might punish most quietly thir injuries done by thir lords, which he thought was over much to take in hand to punish them openly. But if he had been more powerful than he was, considering himself to be a stranger, and not knowing the nature and quality of them, and how the Scottish-men cannot abide to be extremely used by justice nor punishment, nor yet can suffer their neighbours to live in peace and rest beside them : Therefore he concluded with himfelf, that he would continue the pursuit of justice on them, till he thought better time. And incontinent fent to the king of France. shewing him the manner how Scottish-men were all allied with other; fo that every man took part with other

other against him; that they thought him but a stranger, and would not be content that he used justice upon them; nor he would not attempt the same without that he had more power: Therefore beseeking his grace to support him with men, money and munition, according to his grace's honour, and welfare of Scotland; who was well content hereof, and supported accordingly to his desire, both with men, munition and money; and sent him three ships therewith, which landed at the west sea.

The lords hearing that the governor was determinate to punish their oppression and wickedness, so soon as he thought time convenient, they knowing that he had support come out of France: To that effect they laid their heads together, and convened a council at Glasgow, where many of the lords assembled, to the number of twelve thousand men; to wit, the earl of Angus, the lord Hume, the earl of Arran, with the whole lords of the west land, and some of the north land. There were no west-land men away, except the earl of Lenox and lord Erskine, who then remained with the king at Stirling.

The lords being convened in Glasgow, heard tell that there were three French ships landed at the west sea, with men, money and artillery, come to the duke of Albany: Therefore they sent a thousand men to the said ships, for to stop their landing; but they were landed and away ere they came; but yet they got some of their carts with powder and bullet, and brought them to Glasgow; and, for despite, cast them in a great draw-well in Glasgow.

Thir tidings came to the governor, that the lords had rifen against him, and had destroyed his powder and bullets; he was heavily commoved at the same.

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and vowed fingularly to God, he should be revenged on their contemption done to him, or, at the least, them that were the occasion of the same; and passed hastily forward to Glasgow, intending to cause them leave the town, or to sight with them and put them out of Glasgow, or then to die in that quarrel.

But bishop ANDREW FORMAN, seeing the prince minded in this manner, either to fight with them, or put them out of Glasgow, or else to die in that quarrel, spurred hastily to Glasgow, to see if he might dress the lords to obey their magistrate, as they ought: and began to reason them in this manner, as after sollows faying, " My lords, I marvel of your incon-" flancy towards your prince and governor. Why " have ye rifen so against him, and have destroyed " his powder and bullet !? And, in plain contemp-"tion, shewing yourselves so rebellious against him, " that he, on no ways, can be content without obe-" dience and amendment in time coming." To this the lords answered, saying, " He is not our governor, "nor we know not whereof he is come; whether he " be a French-man's fon, or a Scottish-man's fon; or " if he have right to our authority, or not." To this answered bishop ANDREW FORMAN, saying, " My lords, I marvel much of your wisdoms, that " would not confider that cause at the first time, when " ye fent for him to France by your hand-writs and " commission; and syne received him in Scotland " thankfully, and, in plain parliament, chufed and admitted him to be your governor, and gave your oaths of fidelity to him, to maintain him to execute " justice according to the whole law of your realm. .. And now ye have risen against him, without any " cause or motion made in his part to you: Thereof fore

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"fore I counsel you to leave such things in time coming, and to obey your prince, as ye ought to do in all affairs needful, according to reason and justice, for the welfare of the common-weal, and of the country; and to leave the town at this time, and give the prince that obedience, that he may repose him a little here, as ye have done; and if ye would be wilful, and not consent to the same, he will either have it, or fight with you, though ye were ten times more than he; for he cares you not in his just quarrel."

The lords, hearing the words of bishop ANDREW FORMAN, consulted together, and promised to leave the town at the governor's coming, upon thir conditions following: That is to fay, " that the gover-" nor's grace shall remit all things bygone, and re-" ceive them, in time coming, as good subjects unto " the king's grace and him, and never to call them for " nothing bypast." The which the bishop promised, in the governor's name, that it should be kept unto them. Then they left the town, and passed, that the governor might have free entrance thereunto; who lodged there that night; and, on the morn, passed to Stirling, and visited the king's grace; fyne went to Edinburgh, and there remained till all the lords came and made their obedience, and got a remission for all things bygone. But yet the governor remembered of them, that were the occasion of this rebellion, to be fatisfied of them.

In this mean time, the earl of Angus was stolen quietly out of his lodging, and had to the ships, and convoyed quietly to France, and remained a season without company of any Scottish-man, or scantly any knowing what part of the world he was in.

In this mean time the governor called a convention at Edinburgh, to compear for affairs of England; and specially, he wrote for the lord Hume, and Mr. WIL. LIAM his brother, because they knew the affairs of England best, and such matters as were to do at that time. The whole lords compeared at the day appointed; and specially, among the rest, the lord Hume came to Edinburgh, and his brother, who would not enter in the Abbey among the rest; while, on the morn, that his brother was caused, by the duke of Albany, to fend a token for him to come to the council, because he knew the proceedings of England and affairs best of any man: Therefore the duke of Albany alleged, that he would fend him as embaffador to England at that time; which moved the lord Hume to fend a token to his brother, a ring off his finger, which was a fign betwixt them, and caused the faid Mr. WILLIAM to come incontinent to the Abbey to the council, where the governor and the lords were for the time.

As foon as the faid Mr. WILLIAM was entered into the Abbey-gates, the faid gates were closed, and the French-men past to their harness, and laid hands on the lord Hume and his brother, and put them in prifon, to wit, they put the said Mr. WILLIAM to the ships, and put him in the castle of Inch-Garvie, and kept the lord Hume still in the Abbey, till they summoned an assize, and convicted them of treason; and thereaster strake the heads from them.

Thir novels came to France to the earl of Angus, that the lord Hume and his brother were forfault and headed. Of thir novels the earl of Angus was nothing content, thinking himself in no less danger than the lord Hume, or his brother, considering that he was participant

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participant in fiklike crimes of lese-majesty, as they were: Therefore he convoyed himself quietly out of France to England, where he was well received and treated for the queen of Scotland's cause, because he was her husband.

Short while hereafter the queen of Scotland got word that her husband, the earl of Angus, was come to England, and past all danger of France, she was very glad and rejoiced; for she was great with child to him, almost at her deliverance; yet, notwithstanding, for love she bore to her husband, and defire to speak with the king of England her brother, she fetting all danger and peril aside, left her young son, the king's grace of Scotland, in the castle of Stirling, in keeping of the captain, and his guard about him, and took her voyage, and past in England, to London, to king HARRY her brother, where she was honourably received, and tenderly treated, and remained there at her pleasure, and got all things at her brother king HAKRY, that she would desire. But, short time after she came there, she was delivered of a daughter, named lady MARGARET, who remained still there to this day, well entertained, intending to the crown by her or her fuccession.

And this done, queen MARGARET returned to Scotland, with her husband the earl of Angus, with great supplications from king HARRY to the duke of Albany, to receive her husband, the earl of Angus, in good thanks, and all faults bygone to be remitted. Of the which the duke of Albany, hearing the request of king HARRY, was very glad, and accepted and granted all things that the queen would desire in the king HARRY's name; and specially for receipt and entertainment of her husband; which the governor was well

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well content, and took the earl of Angus's oath of fidelity, that he should be just and true unto the king's majesty, and the governor's grace induring the king's

minority.

This being done, the realm stood in great tranquillity and peace, and the nobles obeyed their prince, as they ought to do, in all civil matters and honest; and therethrough the commonweal sourished a long while: Till, at the last, the king of France sent letters in Scotland to the duke of Albany, to come and speak with him in all goodly haste, for such affairs as he had ado at that time. The duke of Albany, obedient unto the king of France's desire, put the realm in order, and lest Monsieur Delabatic regent in his place, to his returning out of France; and gave him command to use all men equally; and, in the mean time, went to his ships, and past to France.

In this mean time, Delabatie being regent, as we have shewn, remained in the abbey of Holy-rood-house, and a guard of French-men about him, to the number of sourscore of hagbitters, to be ready at his command when he charged. And so it happeneth at this time, on the month of and in the year of God one thousand sive hundred and

there was a gentleman in Edinburgh, named WILLIAM MELDRUM laird of Binns, who had, in company with him, a fair lady, called the lady Gleneagies, who was daughter to Mr. RICHARD LAWSON of Humby, provost of Edinburgh; the which lady had born to this laird two bairns, and intended to marry her, if he might have had the pope's licence, because her husband before and he were sib: Yet, notwithstanding, a gentleman, called LUKE STIRLING, envied this love and marriage betwixt thir

thir two persons, thinking to have the gentlewoman to himself in marriage; because he knew the laird might not have the pope's licence by the laws; therefore he folisted his brother's fon, the laird of Keir, with a certain company of armed men, to fet upon the laird of Binns, to take this lady from him by way of deed; and, to that effect, followed him betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, and fet on him beneath the Rood-chapel, with fifty armed men; and he again defended him with five in number, and fought cruelly with them, and flew the laird of Keir's principal fervant before his face, defending himfelf; and hurt the laird, that he was in peril of his life, and twenty-fix of his men hurt and flain; yet, through multiplication of his enemies, he was overfet and driven to the earth, and left lying for dead, hought of his legs, and stricken through the body, and the knops of his elbows stricken from him. Yet, by the mighty power of God, he escaped the death, and all his men that were with him, and lived fifty years thereafter.

In the mean time word came to Monsieur Delabatie, where he was at that time, in the Abbey of Holyrood-house, that such a nobleman was slain and murdered at his hand. And he incontinently gart strike
an alarm, and blew his trumpets, and rang the common bell, commanding all men to follow him, both on
foot and horse, that he might revenge the said slaughter; and rushed siercely forward to the place where the
battle was stricken, and saw this nobleman lying deadly wounded, and his men about him in this same
manner; and past siercely after the enemies, and committers of the said crime, and overhyed them at Linlithgow; where they took the peel upon their heads
to be their safeguard, thinking to defend themselves
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therein; notwithstanding, this noble regent lap manfully about the house, and sieged it continually, till they rendered the same to come in his will; who took them and brought them to Edinburgh, and gave them a fair assize; who were all convicted and condemned of the said crime; and thereaster were put in the castle of Edinburgh, in sure keeping, induring the regent's will. And syne, a little thereaster, the regent passed to The Merse, to the town of Dunse, to hold a justice-court, who was convoyed by the lairds of Cessord and Pharnihest, giving him to understand, that they should bring him safely through the country unto Edinburgh again.

Nevertheless, the laird of Wedderburn and his complices envied Monsieur Delabatie, for the duke of Albany's cause, seeing he was left in his place, and was but a stranger, he thought he would be revenged on him; and fo chapped him by the hoft a little, and, at an out-fide, watched him; fo that he took fear, and spurred his horse, and took the flight, and fled toward the castle of Dumbar, thinking to win the same, because his horse was good. Notwithstand. ing, all was for nought; he, being a stranger, and knew not the gate, ran his horse into a flow-moss, where he could not get out till his enemies came upon him, and there murdered him, and cut off his head, and took it with them: And, because his hair was long, like womens, and plat on a head-lace, DAVID HUME of Wedderburn knit it on his saddle-bow.

Syne after novels came to France to the duke of Albany, who was not content with the fame; but passed to the king of France, and shewed him what estate the realm of Scotland stood in at that time, and how they could not be content with no civil man

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to be their governor nor head, nor no man to minister justice unto them. Further, he shewed him the slaughter of Delabatie, and how he was displeased thereat. But the king of France answered and said, "My "lord, you did evil that would not make a Scottish-" man governor in your absence; for I wist well "they would envy a French-man for your sake; yet, notwithstanding, take a good heart, I shall support and maintain you, to revenge the matter, as you will desire at my hand."

Thir good words of comfort of the king of France mitigated and assuaged the duke of Albany's anger at that time. Syne he took counsel of his friends and wise captains, what was best to be done in revenging of the cause foresaid; who gave him counsel to seek support of the king of France, and to pass hastily in Scotland, for revenging of the said slaughter; fearing, if he tarried any longer, he should have more ado, and more enemies against him in the realm of Scotland.

To this counsel the duke of Albany consented, and passed to the king of France, and asked supply of him to pass to Scotland, for such causes as he had shown his grace. The king of France was well content of his charge, and gart surnish unto him three great ships, and three thousand men of war, for year and day, together with munition, powder, bullets, as the said duke would devise; and gart surnish six ships, of the best he had, to bring him through the sea safely to Scotland.

When this was done, the duke of Albany took his leave of the king of France, and passed to the sea, and came to Scotland: And, after he had landed in Scotland, made hasty persecution on the Humes, and specially on the laird of Wedderburn, who was principal slayer of Delabatie: But yet, on no ways, he could apprehend him; for he sled in England, and

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remained there fo long as the duke abode in Scotland: yet the duke passed through Scotland, and ministrate justice according to his duty: And specially, he raised a great army in the time of winter, and passed to the west borders, called Solway-fands, and there was advised to have sieged Carlisle: But the lord Dacres and he appointed on all debates and redress in the borders, that he so continued the siege, and passed home; and thereafter, the first next year, passed to Wark, and fieged it: But the borderers deceived him, and caused his captains of war to be hanged over the walls, when they had brushed and win the house; the Englishmen, seeing no Scottish-man backing them, incontinent dang them forth of the castle, and hanged their captains: And the duke seeing he was deceived by the borderers, and them that he gave credit to, for to have rescued his men and backed them, he took an anger, and took up his camp, and came to his own castle to Dumbar, and there remained a while, and gart craftsmen and masons fall to work, and big in the fame a great store-house and inch, called The Outward Block-house, and garnished it with artillery powder and bullets.

In this mean time, the master of Hailes, and the laird of Nisbet, called Chirnside, and one Heatly, through counsel of the Hepburns, cruelly murdered a young innocent man, prior of Coldingham, thinking to do the duke a pleasure, to be a revenge of the slaughter of Delabatie.

In this year departed bishop FORMAN, who was bishop of St. Andrews, and legate of Scotland. But prior JOHN HEPBURN, and his friends, caused take the castle of St. Andrews, and keep it, because he was vicar-general for the time: But bishop JAMES BEA-

greed with prior JOHN HEPBURN for his vicarship and generalship, and satisfaction of all other things pertaining to his office.

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In this mean time the king came to the age of eleven years; and the duke of Albany seeing the realm of Scotland, and the nobles thereof, of fuch qualities and conditions, that few or none of them might give credit to other: Therefore he was advised utterly to leave them, and pass in France again to live there: and therefore he furnished Dumbar with men and victuals, and made a Frenchman captain of it, named captain Morice; and thereafter stablished the realm, in manner as after followeth; that is to fay, he made the earl of Lenox, and bishop JAMES BEATON, and a Frenchman called Monfieur Lusence regents, till the king was twelve years of age; for he knew then the lords would chuse new governors among themselves. And the duke of Albany took his leave at the king and council, and passed in France. So all the time that the duke was in Scotland, first and last, was five years and a half.

Then, when the duke was departed, there arose great trouble and deadly seads in many parts of Scotland, both in the north and west parts. The master of Forbes, in the north, slew the laird of Meldrum under tryst. Likewise, the laird of Drumelzier slew the lord Fleming at the hawking. And likewise there was slaughter among many other great lords; that is to say, betwixt the lord of Kilmaurs and the master of Semple.

This cumber drew over, till the king was twelve years of age; and then the whole lords of Scotland laid their heads together, and thought that they would bring

the king to the fields, and put the whole government into his own hands. Notwithstanding, the king, hearing word of this pre-eminence, was gladly content to leave correction at the schools, and pass with his lords at liberty, where he pleased. The lords horsed the king, and gart prepare for him all manner of riding gear pertaining to a prince; and fyne took him forth of the caltle of Stirling, and brought him to the Abbey of Holy-rood-house; and there took up house with all manner of office-men that were necessary to be had for him, and discharged all his old officers, and put new in their steads; that is to fay, treasurer, comptroller, fecretary, Mr. macer, Mr. houshold, capper, carver, Mr. stabler, Mr. hunter, Mr. falconer, Mr. porter, and a fool called JOHN MACKILRIE. Further, there were four lords, Angus, Argyle, St. Andrews, Lenox, chosen to be tutors and governors to the king, that all casualties and benefices thould be disponed by them; and that they should remain still with the king, and give him their council in all things pertaining to his honour, and the well of his country.

The king and the lords remained in Edinburgh, at Holy-rood-house, the space of a year, with great chear, triumph and merriness; till, at the last, there vaked some benefice, which put them all at discord for disposition of the same; for every lord thought he would be served according to his room and estate; but the earl of Angus warred the other three: For, when he had gotten Dunkeld, he would have had Coldingham; and could not be staiked so; but, when Holy-rood-house vaked, he would have had it also; and shewed the lords, he was scant of hay and horse-corn, when he came to the town; Therefore he behoved

to have that benefice, with the lave, to find his horse meat. And the lave of the lords confidering the earl of Angus's greediness, that he would not be content without that he had all at his disposition, and confidered nothing of their expences in the king's fervice that they had made, as well as he: And the earl of Lenox got nothing; wherefore he tyred of the court, and passed home to his own country: And so did the earl of Arran, and passed to Hamilton to his own place. But bishop JAMES BEATON remained still in Edinburgh, in his own lodging, that he bigged in the Frier-wynd; for he might not pass out of the town, for he was chancellor for the time, and fat on the feat to use justice; and came never toward the court nor the king, but as he was fent for: Thus the earl of Angus guided all the whole king and court as he pleased; and made his eame, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, treasurer of Scotland; and GEORGE his brother, Mr. houshold to the king; and himself lieutenant to the king through all Scotland. But yet the queen's grace tyred of him, and parted with him; and, a little after, married HARRY STUART, brother to my lord of Evandale; and thereafter she made the faid HARRY lord of Methven.

Notwithstanding, my lord of Angus took little sussie at the same, but guided and ruled the king as he pleased, and caused him to ride through all Scotland, under the pretence and colour of justice, to punish thies and traitor; but none were found greater than were in their own company. Further, he caused strike a groat of eighteen pennies, which afterward was called the Douglas Groat. And none, at that time, durst strive with a Douglas, nor yet a Douglas's man; for if they would, they got the worse: Therefore none durst plainzie

plainzie of no extortion, theft, reiff nor flaughter done to them by the Douglasses or their men; in that cause they were not heard, so long as the Douglas had the court in guiding. This still they continued a while, so long as fortune bore them savour.

In the mean time, a cunning clerk called Mr. PAT-RICK HAMILTON, abbot of Fern, and brother-german to the sheriff of Linlithgow, who was summoned and called before the principal council, holden at St. Andrews for the time by bishop JAMES BEATON, with the rest of many of the clergy of Scotland; and there he was accused for herefy before the said bishops, abbots, priors, and doctors of theology, Grey-friers and Black. His accuser was a black-frier, called A-LEXANDER CAMPBEL, who read his articles, and faid to him, " Heretick, thou faid, it was leifome to " all men to read the word of God, and, in special, " the New Testament." Mr. PATRICK answered, " I wot not if I said so; but I say it is reason, and " leifome to all men that have a foul, to read the-" word of God, and that they may understand the " fame; and, in special, the latter-will and testa-" ment of Christ Jesus, whereby they may acknow-" lege their own fins, and repent of the fame, and " may amend their lives by faith and repentance, " and come to the mercy of God by Christ Jesus. " Now, heretick, I fee thou affirms the words of thy " accusation." Mr. PATRICK answered, " I affirm " nothing but the word which I have spoken in pre-" fence of this auditory. Now further, thou fays, it was not leisome to worship imagery." Mr. PA-TRICK answered, " I fay not further, but that God fpake to Moses, in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, in the second commandment, Thou shalt not make " any

" any graven image, thou shalt not bow down to " them, nor worship them. And also David, in his " Pfalms, curfeth them that are the makers of ima-" ges, and the outfetters, maintainers and worshippers " of the same." Then answered the accuser, " He-" retick, knows thou not imagery is the books of the " laick and common people, to put them in remem-" brance of the holy faints that wrought for their fal-" vation?" Then answered Mr. PATRICK, " Bro-" ther, it ought to be preaching of the true word of " God, that should put the people in remembrance of " the blood of Christ, and their salvation." Then favs the accuser, " Heretick, thou says it is but lost " labour to pray or to call upon faints that wrought " for their falvation; and, in special, to the Blessed " Virgin Mary, or John, James, Peter or Paul, " as mediators to God for us." Mr. PATRICK anfwered, " I fay with Paul, there is no mediator be-" twixt God and man, but Christ Jesus his son : and " whatfomever they be, that call or pray to any " faint departed, they spoil Christ Jesus of his office." The accuser says, " Heretick, thou says, it is all in " vain our labours made for them that are departed, " when we fing foul-mass, psalms and dirigies, which " is the relaxation of the fouls that are departed, who " are contained in the pains of Purgatory." Mr. PATRICK answered, " Brother, I read never in the " scripture of God, of such a place as Purgatory, nor " yet believe that there is any thing that may purge " the fouls of men, but the blood of Christ Jesus; " which ranfom standeth in no earthly thing, nor in " foul-mass, nor dirigy, nor in gold, nor filver, but " only by repentance of fins, and faith in the blood " of Christ Jesus." The accuser answered, " My " lord,

" lord, you hear he denies the institution of holy kirk,
" and the authority of our holy father the pope. I

" need not to accuse him no more."

The bishops and the lords of religion laid their heads together, and gave fentence against this innocent man, and condemned him to the death : and fyne brought him forth of the abbey-kirk of St. Andrews, and fore. nent the old college, called Salvator's college, where was a great fire, and a stake, and a scaffold made, whereon they put this innocent man, in presence of all the people; and fyne required of him, if he would recant the words and confession that he made in the abbey-kirk, and he should burn his faggot, and his life should be fafe. Mr. PATRICK answered, " As to my " confession, I will not deny it for the awe of your " fire; for my confession and belief is in Christ Jesus: " Therefore I will not deny it. And I will rather be " content, that my body burn in this fire, for confes-" fion of my faith in Christ, than my foul should burn " in the fire of hell, for denying the fame. But, as " to the fentence and judgment pronounced against " me this day, by the bishops and doctors, I here, in " presence of you all, appeal contrary the said sen-" tences and judgment given against me, and take " me to the mercy of God; and fummon you, Sir " Frier, before the tribunal feat of God and Christ Iefus his fon, that ye there compear within the " space of forty days, to answer before that judge, " for your wrongous accusation contrary to your con-" Science," By this Mr. PATRICK left off his speaking, and entered in contemplation and prayer to Almighty God to be merciful to the people who persecuted him; for there were many of them blinded in ignorance, that they knew not what they did. And alfo

also befought Christ Jesus to be Mediator for him unto the Father; and that he would strengthen him with his holy spirit, that he might stedfastly abide the cruel pains and flames of fire prepared for him by that cruel people: And that the pains of that torment were not the occasion to cause him swerve or shrink from any point of his faith in Christ Jesus, but to strengthen and augment him in his spirit, and knowlege in the promise of God, and to receive his soul in his hands, for Christ Jesus sake; and, in his name, he made this oblation and offering, that is to fay, his body in the fire, and his foul in the hands of Almighty God; and fo made an end of his speaking. Then they laid to the fire to him; but it would no ways burn nor kindle a long while. Then a baxter, called Myrtoun, ran and brought his arms full of straw, and cast it in to kindle the fire: But there came fuch a blaft of wind from the east, forth of the sea, and raised the stame of fire fo vehemently, that it blew upon the frier that accused him, that it dang him to the earth, and burnt all the fore part of his coul; and put him in such a fray, that he came never to his right spirits again, but wandered about the space of forty days, and then departed. This cruel act of persecution was used against this godly man, at St. Andrews, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty five, in the month of September.

About this time the king went to the fouth-land to the airs, and held justice in Jedburgh; where there came many plaints to the king, of reiff, slaughter and oppression; but little justice was used, but by the purse: For there were many that were of the earl of Angus's kin, friends and servants, that got justice by savour. Of the which the king was nothing content,

nor none of the lave of the lords that were about him; for they would have had justice equally used to all men without partiality, or exception of persons. But, notwithstanding, the earl of Angus and the rest of the Douglasses ruled all which they liked; and no man durst say the contrary: Wherefore the king was heavily displeased, and would fain have been out of their hands, if he might by any way: And, to that effect, wrote a quiet and fecret writing with his own hand, and fent it to the laird of Buccleugh, befeeking him, that he would come with his kin and friends, and all the force that he might be, and meet him at Melross at his home-passing; and there to take him out of the Douglasses hands, and to put him to liberty, to use himself among the lave of his lords, as he thinks expedient.

This writing was quietly directed, and sent by one of the king's own secret servants, which was received very thankfully by the laird of Buccleugh, and was very glad thereof, to be put to such charges and samiliarity with his prince; and did great diligence to perform the king's writing, and to bring the matter to pass as the king desired: And, to that effect, convened all his kin and friends, and all that would do for him, to ride with him to Melross, when he knew of the king's home-coming. And so he brought in company with him, six hundred spears of Liddisdale and Anandale, and country-men and clans thereabout, and held themselves quiet while that the king returned out of Jedburgh, and came to Melross, and to remain there all that night.

But when the lord Hume, Cesfoord, and Farniherst, took their leave from the king, and returned home, then appeared the laird of Buccleugh in fight, and his company

company with him, in an arrayed battle, intending to have fulfilled the king's petition; and therefore came stoutly forward in the back-side of Halidenhill. By that the earl of Angus, and GEORGE DOUGLAS his brother, with fundry other of his friends, feeing this army coming, they marvelled what the matter meant; while, at the last, they knew the laird of Buccleugh, with a certain company of the thieves of Anandale with him, they were the less afeared, and made them manfully to the field contrary them; and faid to the king, on this manner, " Sir, yon is Buc-" cleugh and thieves of Anandale with him, to un-" beset your grace from the gate. I avow to God " they shall either fight or flee; and ye shall tarry " here on this know, and my brother GEORGE " with you, with any other company you please; " and I shall pass and put you thieves off the ground, " and red the gate unto your grace, or else die for it." The king tarried still as was devised, and GEORGE Douglas with him, with fundry other lords, fuch as the earl of Lenox, and the lord Erskine, and some of the king's own fervants; but all the lave past with the earl of Angus to the field against the laird of Buccleugh, who joined and countered cruelly, both the faid parties, in the field of Darnelinvir, either against other, with uncertain victory: But, at last, the lord Hume, hearing word of that matter how it stood, re. turned again to the king in all possible haste; with him the laird of Cesfoord and Farniherst, to the number of fourfcore spears, and set on freshly on the lap and wing of the laird of Buccleugh's field, and fhortly bore them backward to the ground; which caused the laird of Buccleugh and the rest of his friends to go back and flee; whom they followed and chased, especially the L4

the laird of Farniherst and Cessoord followed so furioully, while at the foot of a path, the laird of Celfoord was flain by the stroke of a spear, by an Eliot. who was then servant to the laird of Buccleugh: But when the laird of Cesfoord was stain, the chase ceased. But the earl of Angus returned again with great merriness and victory, and thanked God that he faved him from that chance; and passed with the king to Melross, where they remained all that night; while on the morn, they passed to Edinburgh with the king, who was very fad and dolorous of the flaughter of the laird of Cesfoord, and many other gentlemen and yeomen flain by the laird of Buccleugh, containing the number of fourscore and fourteen, which died in defence of the king, and at the command of his writing. Howbeit, it was not known to every man, which caused the king to be so heavily fad and dolorous; thinking that, on no ways, he could be quit of the earl of Angus and his friends : Therefore he cast his ingine to feek remedy hereunto; and fent for bishop JAMES BEATON to have his counsel how he might be best quit of the earl of Angus, and the rest of his kin and friends.

This bishop, being a wise man, gave the king counfel to send for the earl of Lenox, to see his mind thereunto, because he was nearest of kin to the king, and of his sirname: Therefore he was the meetest and habilest of any man for to deliver the king unto his liberty.

The king, hearing of thir words, fent for the earl of Lenox, and spake with him, and gave him his commission to raise his lieges as he pleased; to that effect, that he should come to Edinburgh, with all the power

that

that he might be, and to take the king out of the Douglasses hands by force.

The earl of Lenox, hearing this charge and commission of the king, was well content : And, to that effect, gathered all that he might be, in Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, and all the whole west-land, and came to Stirling with the number of ten thousand men : where bishop JAMES BEATON met him, with all the gentlemen in Fife, and there accompanied with him to the effect foresaid; and also the master of Kilmaurs came to him out of the west, Kyle, Carick and Cuningham, which were in number two thousand men, and took his vanguard in hand, to come forward to the town of Edinburgh : But the earl of Angus, knowing this nobleman the earl of Lenox gathering against him, with bishop JAMES BEATON, and the master of Kilmaurs; and hearing that they were so great of number, knew well it was not without the king's advice; whereat he was greatly aftonished: Yet, notwithstanding, he took such courage and hardiment, that he knew well there was no remedy, but either to do or die; and fent incontinent to all his friends, and in special to the lord Hume and Farniherst, and the laird of Cessoord. Also he sent to the lord Hamilton, shewing him the earl of Lenox was coming with an army to take the king from him; befeeking him that he would concur with him, and furport him in that cause, which was for his own well, faying, " That, if the earl of Lenox overcame him, " that the next day he would do fiklike with him : "Therefore it were best to debate with both their " powers and strengths in time." Of this desire the lord Hamilton was well content, and promised to meet L5 the

the earl of Angus, with all his kin and friends at Linlithgow.

But, on the morn afterhend, the earl of Lenox came out of Stirling with three great hofts, marching forward to Edinburgh to fet forward his purpose and intent, which he had taken in hand at the king's command. Incontinent the earl of Angus was advertised of their coming, and shewed the king the manner how it stood, desiring his grace to make proclamations, both in Leith and Edinburgh, that all manner of men, betwixt sixty and sixteen, should rise incontinent, and follow the king, and debate his grace.

The king hearing thir words of the earl of Angus. and knowing how the matter stood, gave but little anfwer to the earl of Angus. The earl, feeing that the king was flow in the matter, wift well there was nothing but either to do or die: And therefore made him manfully to the fields; and caused his friend ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS, provost of Edinburgh, to ring the common bell, and put the town in order, and commanded them to rife and come with the king in all haste, to defend him against his enemies; and left his brother with the king, to cause him rise and to come forward for to support him, for he would pass forward incontinent to meet the lord Hamilton, who was above Linlithgow in readiness, with the number of two thousand men; and the earl of Angus past forward himself, with the Humes and Kers, which were in number two thousand.

By this the word came to the town of Edinburgh, that the earl of Lenox was within a mile of Linlithgow, with three great hosts, to the number of twelve thousand men, well furnished with artillery, and was purposed purposed to come to Edinburgh, if he were not stopt. Then GEORGE DOUGLAS, hearing this, desired the king to rise and pass forward, and help his brother, to support him against his enemies, shewing him how nearhand they were. But the king's grace took little thought of the matter, and was slow in his out-ridding. But, at last, the post came from the earl of Angus, shewing the king, that both the armies were in fight of other, and were purposed to fight: Therefore prayed the king's grace to come forward, with the town of Edinburgh, to rescue the earl of Angus, or else he would be lost, by reason of the number of the other party.

Then the king caused blow his trumpets, and lap on horse, and gart ring the common bell of Edinburgh, commanding all manner of men to sollow him. So he rushed out of the west-port, and all the town of Edinburgh and Leith with him, to the number of three thousand men, and rode forward; but, ere they came to Corstorphin, they heard the artillery shoot on both sides, like as it had been thunder. Then GEORGE Douglas cried on the king, beseeking his grace, for God's sake, to ride saster, that he might rescue and help his brother.

By this the post came, and shewed the king, that both the sields were joined, and foughten suriously with others, on the west-side of Linlithgow, two miles west the town; and that the earl of Angus and the earl of Glencairn were yoked together; and the lord Hamilton's force and the earl of Lenox were yoked in like manner, and both sighting suriously. Then the king rode sast to see the manner: But incontinent there met him a post, shewing him, that the earl of

Lenox's

Lenox's men were fled from him; and he believed that he had tint the field.

But then the king was very forry, and cried on all his fervants, and all that would do for him, to ride to the field and stench slaughter; and in special, to fave the earl of Lenox, if he could apprehend him alive. With this the king's fervants, and fundry gentlemen, paffed, at the king's command, with AN-DREW WOOD of Largo, which was one of the king's familiar fervants, and carver to him, at that time: and hasted their horse, as fast as they might bear them, to the field, to keep the king's command, to fave all from flaughter; and, in special, the earl of Lenox; whom they found lying flain, in the dead-throw, cruelly, by Sir JAMES HAMILTON, that tyrant, after that he was taken in the field by the laird of Pardovan. and his weapons taken from him: In this mean time. Sir JAMES HAMILTON, that cruel murderer, gart shut him from the takers, and slew him without mercy; and fo did he all that he might overtake that day in the field. There were many marked that day with. this murderer; fome in the chafts with his fword, and fome otherwise.

But we will return to Sir Andrew Wood and the king's fervants, who rode fwiftly thro' the fields, to fave all friends that they might keep on life; and, at last they found the earl of Glencairn still fighting, and not thirty men lest of all his army on life, unslain, and fled from him: But yet he was in such a strength, that his enemies might no wife war him, so long as he had any men lest on life to defend him. But immediately Sir Andrew Wood, the king's ferwant, took him and saved him, and brought him away, and

and convoyed him to a quiet place, where neither the Douglasses nor the Hamiltons might get him to do him skaith.

This being done, the king's fervants came through the field, and faw the lord Hamilton standing mourning beside the earl of Lenox, saying, " The wifest " man, the thoutest man, the hardiest man, that ever " was born in Scotland, was flain that day;" and his cloke of fcarlet cast upon him, and gart watchmen fland about him, till the king's fervants came and buried him. This matter being ended, and many flain and taken on both the fides; and, in special, the earl of Lenox, with many gentlemen of the west-land with him; and likewise the earl of Glencairn evil wounded to the dead, and many of his friends and servants flain, and also some gentlemen of Fife both taken and flain. This cruel unhappy field was frucken in the year of God one thousand five hundred and twenty fix, and in the month of September.

Then the earl of Angus returned to the king with glory and victory, well commended of all men for the chance and victory that fell unto him. Then the king with the earl of Angus, the lord Hamilton, with the Humes and Kers, went all that night to Linlithgow, and remained there in great merrines: But the king was very fad and dolorous for the tinfel of his eame the earl of Lenox, and many other gentlemen with him, who perished by the king's occasion; for they enterprized the matter at the king's command. And further, the king was very asraid, and despaired of his own life; because he knew well the earl of Angus understood that he gart enterprize such acts against him; and nothing prospered well with the king against

against the said earl: Therefore he was asraid they would put hand in his own body, considering all things succeeded so well with him: But yet I can never find, that ever the earl of Angus, or the Douglasses, or none of the Douglasses, failed to the king in any part, though they were covetous, greedy, and oppressors of their neighbours; yet they were ever true, kind, and serviceable to the king in all his affairs; and oft-times offered their bodies in jeopardy for his sake.

This being done, the king returned to Edinburgh very fad and forrowful, that he, on no ways could come to his purpose; but yet he remained quiet within himself. And the Douglasses took over-high upon them; wherefore they began to punish all them that came against them with the earl of Lenox; and specially, they sleed bishop James Beaton so, that he stole away and durst not a long time be seen; and so did Margaret queen of Scotland, and gaid vagabond a long while disguised, for fear of the Douglasses.

Then the Douglasses had the king to Fife, and past their time a while in St. Andrews; but they could not find the bishop, for he was keeping sheep in Bogrionnew, with shepherds clothes upon him, like as he had been a shepherd himself. By this way he escaped their fury a while: But George Douglas was very wife, and knew the bishop of St. Andrews to be a great man, and had many casualties of tacks and tithes to be gotten at his hand: Therefore, within a little while, he agreed the said bishop and his brother, for certain tithes and tacks that the bishop gave him, with other commodities that he got at the bishop's hand, which needs not to be rehearsed at this time; but always he was restored to the court and their

their favours again; and so was the queen's grace a little thereafter, that no man pursued her, but luit her take her own pleasure, because she was the king's mother.

At this time the Douglasses put fore at the lord Lindfay, and thought to have forefaulted him: But he gave largely of his lands to the courtiers, to escape that envy for the present time, thinking that court would not last long. Further, bishop JAMES BEA-TON called the Douglasses and the king to the Pasch in St. Andrews, and there made them great chear and merriness, and gave them great gifts of gold and filver. with fair hackneys, and other gifts of tacks and steedings that they would defire of him, that he might pacify their wraths therewith, and obtain their favours. So the king tarried therea while quiet, and used hawking and hunting upon the water of Edin; till, at the laft, the earl of Angus wearied in Fife; and therefore he asked leave of the king to pass to Lothian to see his business; and left with the king ARCHIBALD his father's brother, and GEORGE his own brother, and JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead, who was captain to a guard of men that was about the king. But, within two days, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS treasurer asked leave of the king to pass to Dundee, and do his business there for one day or two, (some fay he had a gentlewoman there whom he rode to visit) and, in like manner, GEORGE DOUGLAS rode east to St. Andrews to the bishop, to get his tack performed and ended at his hands, as he had promifed him before; and left with the king's grace JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead, with a hundred gentlemen with him, to wait upon the king wherever he past. But when GEORGE DOUGLAS came to St. Andrews, and remained

mained there meikle of the day in dreffing of his buff. ness, in the mean time the king past to the park of Falkland, there to have hounded a deer, and thought in his own mind, the time was convenient for him to make himself free at liberty, considering the earl, and GEORGE and ARCHIBALD were all absent at that time out of his company : Therefore he bethought him of a crafty mean, to jeopard himself in this manner, as after follows; that is to fay, he called upon the laird of Fairny, who was foster of the same wood. and chamberlain of Fife at that time, and caused him to gar warn all the whole tenants of the king's lands. and gentlemen thereabout that had speediest dogs, that they would come to Falkland-wood on the morn, to meet him at feven hours; for he was determined that he would flav a fat buck or two for his pleasure; and, to that effect, gart warn the cooks and stewards to make his supper ready, that he might go to his bed the fooner, and have his disjoin ready by four hours; and commanded JAMES DOUGLAS of Parkhead to pass the fooner to his bed, and caused to bring his collation. and drank to LAMES DOUGLAS, faying to him. " That he should have good hunting the morn;" and bade him be timeous; and fyne the king went to his bed. Then JAMES DOUGLAS, feeing the king in his bed, wint that all had been ficker enough, and past in like manner to his bed.

When the watch was set, and all things in quietness, the king called on a yeoman of the stable, and desired one of his abuilziements, hose, cloke, coat and bonnet, and put upon him, and slipt forth as a yeoman of the stable; and was unperceived of the watches till he had passed to the stables, and caused saddle a horse for himsels, and one led, and took two

fervants.

fervants with him, to wit, JOCKIE HART, a yeoman of the stable, with another secret chamber-boy, and lap on horse, and spurred hastily his journey to Stirling, and wan there by the breaking of the day over the bridge, and syne gart steik it behind him, that no man should win that passage but licence. Syne past to the castle, and was received there by the captain, who was very glad of his coming, and prepared the castle with all needful things for his coming. Syne gart steik the gates, and drew down the portcullies, and put the king in his bed to sleep, because he had ridden all that night.

We will let him sleep in his bed, and return to GEORGE DOUGLAS, who came to Falkland at eleven hours at even, who required at the porters what the king was doing. They answered and said, " that the " king was fleeping in his bed in the fecret chamber;" and fo faid the watch-men of the guard that watched him; and GEORGE, hearing this, past to his chamber to his bed; till, on the morn, that the fun was Syne, came the bailey of Abernethy, to wit, PETER CARMICHAEL, and knocked at GEORGE's chamber-door, and wakened him, and speired where the king was. GEORGE answered and said, "He " is in his chamber sleeping." The bailie said, " No. " he is past the bridge of Stirling." Then GEORGE got up hastily, and put on his clothes, and went to the guard, and to the porters, and speired for the king. They answered and faid, " He was in his chamber in " his bed." Then GEORGE went to his chamber and knocked; but none would answer him; for the door was locked, which he dang up, and found no man therein. Then he cried, " Fy, treason, the " king was gone, they knew not where." Some faid

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he was past to Bambrigh to a gentlewoman. Another said he was ridden to Stirling. Then GEORGE lap on horse to ride to Bambrigh: But, within two miles, he met the earl of Rothes, and shewed him that the king was not there.

Then they past to Falkland again, and took consultation what was best to be done; and sent a hasty post to the earl of Angus, to advertise and shew him the matter, and how it stood. By this ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS came out of Dundee; and then they forgathered all together, to wit, the earl, GEORGE and ARCHIBALD, and rode all together to Stirling to the king. But, when the king got word of their coming, he sent a herald of arms to the market-cross, and there, by sound of trumpet, commanded the earl of Angus GEORGE DOUGLAS, ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS treasurer, with all the rest of their kin, friends and allies, that none of them should come near the king, within the space of six miles, under the pain of treason.

This proclamation being made, the earl of Angus and his friends, getting advertisement thereof, laid their heads together, and confulted what was best to be done concerning that proclamation. Some said, it was best to pass forward: But the earl and George concluded, that they would obey the king, and his proclamations; and returned again, and past backward to Linlithgow, and remained a day or two, till they got word from the king, who was, at that time, right busy sending for his lords to have their counsel; to wit, he sent of Athole, the earl of Glencairn, the earls of Monteith and Rothes, the lord Graham, the lord Livingston, the lord Lindsay, the lord Sinclair, the

the lord Ruthven, the lord Drummond, the lord Evandale, the lord Maxwel, the lord Semple, the earl of Eglinton, with bishop JAMES BEATON; and convened the faid lords at Stirling to a council, the fecond day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty feven. And there the king shewed to them his mind with great lamentations; shewing to them, how he was holden in subjection, thir years bygone, by the earl of Angus and his kin and friends, who oppressed the whole country, and spoiled it under the pretence of justice and his authority; and had flain many of his lieges, kinfmen and friends, because they would have had it mended at their hands, and put him at liberty, as he ought to have been, at the counsel of his whole lords, and not have been subjected or corrected with no particular men, by the rest of his nobles: " Therefore, faid he, I defire, my " lords, that I may be fatisfied of the faid earl, his " kin and friends: For, I avow that Scotland shall " not hold us both, while I be revenged on him and " his. "

The lords hearing the king's complaint and lamentation, and also the great rage, sury and malice that he bore toward the earl of Angus, his kin and friends, they concluded all, and thought it best, that he should be summoned to underly the law; if he fand not caution to enter, nor yet compear himself, that he should be put to the horn, with all his kin and friends, so many as were contained in the letters. And surther, the lords ordained, by advice of his majesty, that his brother and friends should be summoned to find caution to underly the law within a certain day, or else to be put to the horn. But the earl compeared not, nor none for him; and so was put to the horn, with

all his kin and friends: So many as were contained in the summons, that compeared not, were banished, and holden traitors to the king.

So we may fee, that all courts on earth are not conflant, but changeable; and no court constant but the court of heaven, wherein is no variance. For this man the earl of Angus, having the king and court at his pleasure, thought he could never be separated from his grace, by no means, power nor ingine; yet when he was standing in his highest degree, and thinking himself in tranquillity with his prince, dreading no trouble or cumber to come hereafter; because he had debated fo many troubles before in his defence, and had foughten so cruelly before, and made such slaughter to defend his own right and authority with the king, in times bygone; thinking then there was no man to purfue him; (for he had win the upper-hand upon all them that intended to act him off from the court, or guiding :) But when the mighty God, that hath power above all earthly men, feeing the proppit time of this man's felicity in court, that it was near spent, caused the court change, by the expectation of man, without cause offered to the king, to cause banish and forfault this man, as I have shewn to you: Therefore, let every man, that defires to be had in court with the king or queen, to reign in authority above his neighbours, take example of this man, in the hasty change that came of him, by any man's expectation: Therefore, I say, let courtiers first serve God, and syne their prince; and do to their neighbours and brethren as they would be done withal; and then they shall obtain favour and mercy, and come to his court which reigns in glory and felicity, world wifhout end. Amen.

Now we will return to our history. The earl of Angus, his kin and friends, being at the horn, in this manner as we have shown of, the king gart make proclamations through all his realm, to all and sundry his lieges, with certification, who received this earl or his friends, whatsomever they were, they should be holden as traitors to the crown, and partakers of that crime that the said earl and his friends were convicted of.

Further, the king made proclamations to Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale, to compear at Edinburgh the tenth day of December, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty feven, with forty days victuals, to pass with him to Tantallon, to fiege the fame; and, to that effect, gart send to the castle of Dumbar to captain Morice, to borrow fome artillery, and laid great pledges for the same, because the castle was then in the duke of Albany's hand, and the artillery thereof his own : But it was ever at the king's pleasure, when he had ought ado, and that by the command of the faid duke of Albany: But yet, for restoring and delivering of the fame, and observing of a good order, caused three lords to pass in pledge for the said artillery, till it were delivered again, and received the same, in manner as after follows; that is to fay, two great cannons thrown-mouthed, Mow and her marrow, with two great botcards, and two moyans, two double falcons, and four quarter-falcons, with their powder and bullets, and gunners for to use them, conform to the king's pleasure. Syne palt forward to Tantallon, and fieged the same the space of twenty days; but they came no speed: Whether the castle was so strong, or the gunners corrupted by the earl of Angus's moyen, I cannot

I cannot tell. But the king left it, and was constrained to depart home to Edinburgh, without any fuccess of victory, or any hope of winning the faid caftle: and had both many men and horse slain at the pursuit of the faid castle; and, at his returning, had a noble captain of war flain, called DAVID FALCONER. who was murdered cruelly by the hands of ARCHI-BALD DOUGLAS, umquhile treasurer, and father. brother to the said earl; at whose slaughter the king was heavily displeased, and lamented the same greatly, casting all his ingine that he might, by his counfel, to obtain the castle of Tantallon, knowing well, if he had the caftle, there would be no refuge to the earl, nor his friends, in that country: he caused fundry lords and gentlemen to make moyen with the faid captain, called SIMEON PANNANco, promifing to him great gifts and rewards, both of lands and gear, with the king's special favour, and remit of all things bypast to the said captain, his brother, friends and fervants whom he defired, except the Douglasses.

Of thir offers the captain took to be advised till a certain day, and syne promised to give the king an answer, conform to his majesty's desire: And, in the mean time, the said captain sent to the earl, Archibald and George, to wit, what was their minds, shewing that he was evil victualled, and wanted artillery, powder and bullets; and therefore desired the said earl and his friends to surnish him thereof within a certain day, or otherwise it were force to him to render the foresaid castle to the king, or others in his name that pursued it.

The earl, hearing this message, was nowise content thereof, because he knew well he could no ways support

port him, neither with artillery, powder nor bullets. because he had none at that time, nor could provide none hastily; nor yet could he furnish them with victuals, neither by fea nor land, because the king had watches on them; that is to fay, ships on the fea. and gentlemen on the land, ever watching, that no furnishing should come to the said castle. The captain waiting for an answer of his master the earl, and seeing no support to come to him by the faid earl and his friends, appointed with the king, and rendered the faid castle to him, on thir conditions, as after follows: that is to fay, that the king should remit the faid captain all offences done by him to his majesty, or otherwise contrary the commonweal; and shall give a free remission thereof to him, and his friends and fervants; and shall grant to him all bag and baggage: and the king shall have the faid castle, with artillery and weapons, used in defence of the faid place; but all other furnishings, as gold, filver, clothing and abuilziements and victuals, shall be the said captain's, to dispone at his pleasure.

Of this appointment the king and the council were very well content, and received the faid castle of Tantallon from Simeon the captain, and rewarded him according to the king's promise. Shortly after, the king gart garnish it with men of war and artillery; and put in a new captain, to wit, Oliver Sinclair; and caused masons come and ransorce the walls, which were lest waste before, as trances and thorow-passages; and made all massy work, to the effect, that it should be more able in time coming, to any enemies that would come to pursue it. Syne gart make proclamations through all the realm, that no man should softer, savour nor sustain no Douglasses within

within their bounds; and thereafter gart bring in their rents, mails and duties, to the king's own use, to the effect that they should be poor, and have no strength in time coming.

The Douglasses seeing this, that they, on no ways, could obtain the king's savour in Scotland, they confulted among themselves to pass to England; where they were received thankfully with king HARRY VIII. who sustained them very honourably a long while.

This being done, the king hearing tell of their abfence, gart fet a parliament at Edinburgh, the twenty
eighth day of March, one thousand five hundred and
twenty eight; and there, in presence of the king and
three estates, the said earl of Angus, his kin and friends,
were forfaulted, and their lands annexed to the crown.
And this forfaultry and process led, as I have shewn
you, the king passed to Stirling, and there remained a
space, and changed many of his officers, that is to say,
the treasurer, comptroller, secretary, Mr. houshold,
and many other officers which pleased him to renew,
and placed others in their places, that he thought
more expedient.

Syne after, made a convention at Edinburgh, with all his whole lords and barons, to confult how he might stanch all thest and reving within his realm, and cause the commons to live in peace, which long time had been perturbed before, for fault of good guiding of an old king. To this effect, the king made proclamations to all lords, barons, gentlemen, landward-men, and free-holders, that they should compear at Edinburgh, with a month's victual, to pass with the king where he pleased, to danton the thieves of Teviotdale, Anandale, Liddisdale, and other parts

of that country: And also warned all gentlemen that had good dogs, to bring them, that he might hunt in the said country, as he pleased; the whilk, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Athole, and so all the rest of the gentlemen of the High-land, did, and brought their hounds with them in like manner, to hunt with the king, as he pleased.

The fecond day of June, the king past out of Edinburgh to the hunting, with many of the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland with him, to the number of twelve thousand men; and then past to Meggitland, and hounded and hawked all the country and bounds is that is to say, Crammat, Pappert-law, St. Marylaws, Carlavirick, Chapel, Ewindoores, and Longhope. I heard say, he slew, in these bounds, eighteen score of harts.

After this hunting he hanged JOHN ARMSTRONG laird of Kilknocky, and his complices, to the number of thirty fix persons: for the which many Scottish-men heavily lamented; for he was the most redoubted chiftain that had been, for a long time, on the borders, either of Scotland or England. He rode ever with twenty four able gentlemen, well horsed: yet he never molested any Scottish-man. But it is said that, from the Borders to Newcastle, every man, of whatfomever estate, paid him tribute to be free of his He came before the king, with his forefaid trouble. number richly apparelled, trusting that, in respect of his free offer of his person, he should obtain the king's favour. But the king, feeing him and his men fo gorgeous in their apparel, with fo many brave men under a tyrant's commandment, frowardly turning him about, he bade take the tyrant out of his fight, faying, " What wants that knave, that a king should

"have?" But JOHN ARMSTRONG made great offers to the king, that he should sustain himself with forty gentlemen, ever ready at his service, on their own cost, without wronging any Scottish-man. Secondly, that there was not a subject in England, duke, earl or baron, but, within a certain day, he should bring him to his majesty, either quick or dead. At length, he seeing no hope of savour, said, very proudly, "It is folly to seek grace at a graceless sace: But (said he) had I known this, I should have lived on

" the borders, in despite of king HARRY and you both; for I know king HARRY would down-weigh

" my best horse with gold, to know that I were con-

" demned to die this day.

This being done, the king returned to Edinburgh the twenty eighth day of July, one thousand five hundred and twenty eight years; and thereafter remained in the castle meikle of the winter. Syne, the next fummer, past to the Highland to hunt in Athole, and took with him his mother MARGARET queen of Scotland, and an ambassador of the pope's who was in Scotland for the time, The earl of Athole, hearing of the king's coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a Prince, that he was as well ferved and eafed, with all things necessary to his estate, as he had been in his own palace of Edinburgh, For, I heard fay, this noble earl gart make a curious palace to the king, to his mother, and to the ambaffador; where they were so honourably eased and lodged as they had been in England, France, Italy, or Spain, concerning the time and equivalent, for their hunting and pastime; which was builded in the midst of a fair meadow, a fair palace of green timber, wind with green birks, that were green both under and above, which

which was fashioned in four quarters, and in every quarter and nuik thereof a great round, as it had been a block-house, which was lofted and gested the space of three house height; the floors laid with green fcarets and foreats, medwarts and flowers, that no man knew whereon he zeid, but as he had been in a garden. Further, there were two great rounds in ilk fide of the gate, and a great portculleis of tree, falling down with the manner of a barrace, with a drawbridge, and a great stank of water of fixteen foot deep. and thirty foot of breadth. And also this palace within was hung with fine tapestry and arrasses of filk, and lighted with fine glass windows in all airths; that this palace was as pleafantly decored, with all necessaries pertaining to a prince, as it had been his own palaceroyal at home. Further, this earl gart make fuch provision for the king, and his mother, and the ambaffador, that they had all manner of meats, drinks and delicates that were to be gotten, at that time, in all Scotland, either in burgh or land; that is to fay, all kind of drink, as ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, Malvafy, Muskadel, Hippocras and Aquavitæ. Further, there was of meats, wheat-bread, main-bread and ginge-bread; with fleshes, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, venison, goose, grice, capon, coney, cran, swan, partridge, plover, duck, drake, briffel-cock and pawnies, black-cock and muir-fowl, capercaillies: And also the stanks, that were round about the palace. were full of all delicate fishes, as falmonds, trouts, pearches, pikes, eels, and all other kind of delicate fishes that could be gotten in fresh waters; and all ready for the banket. Syne were there proper stewards, cunning baxters, excellent cooks and potingars, with confections and drugs for their deferts; and the M 2 halls halls and chambers were prepared with costly bedding, vessel and napery according for a king; so that he wanted none of his orders more than he had been at home in his own palace. The king remained in this wilderness, at the hunting, the space of three days and three nights, and his company, as I have shewn. I heard men say, it cost the earl of Athole, every day, in

expences, a thousand pounds.

The ambassador of the pope, seeing this great banquet and triumph, which was made in a wilderness, where there was no town near by twenty miles, thought it a great marvel, that fuch a thing could be in Scotland, confidering that it was named, The Arfe of the World, by other countries; and that there should be such honesty and policy in it, and specially in the High-land, where there was but wood and wilderness. But, most of all, this ambassador marvelled to fee, when the king departed, and all his men took their leave, the Highland-men set all this fair place in a fire, that the king and the ambassador might see it. Then the embassador faid to the king, " I marvel, " Sir, that you should thole yon fair place to be " burnt, that your grace has been fo well lodged in." Then the king answered the embassador, and said, " It is the use of our Highland-men, though they be " never fo well lodged, to burn their lodging when " they depart."

This being done, the king returned to Dunkeld that night; and, on the morn, to St. Johnston. I heard fay, the king, at that time, in the bounds of Athole and Strathern, slew thirty score of hart and hynd, with other small beasts, as roe, and roe buck, wolf and fox, and wild-cats. Then the king, within a day or two, came to Dundee, where he was honourably received,

ceived, and well entertained by the constable, and the honest burgesses thereof, and remained there three days; and fyne passed to St. Andrews, and his mother with him, and the ambassador; and there remained till the Michaelmas, and was well entertained by bishop JAMES BEATON, and prior PATRICK HEP-BURN. Syne past to Stirling, and remained there the most part of the winter. Syne, the next spring of the year, came to Edinburgh, and founded a fair palace in the abbey of Holy-rood-house, and a great tower to himself to rest into, when he pleased to come. Further he fent to Flanders and brought home artillery and harness, with powder and bullets, with picks, and all other kind of munition, and garnished his castles. therewith, viz. Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbar, Dumbarton and Black nefs. Further, he translated the palace of Linlithgow, and bigged a pretty palace in the castle of Stirling.

In this year there came an ambassador out of England, named lord WILLIAM HOWARD, with a bifhop with him, with many other gentlemen, to the number of threescore horse, which were all able men, and waled men for all kind of games and pastime, shooting, louping, running, wrestling, and casting of the stone: But they were well sayed ere they past out of Scotland, and that by their own provocation; but ever they tint : Till, at last, the queen of Scotland, the king's mother, favoured the Englishmen, because fhe was the king of England's fifter; and therefore the took an enterprize of archery upon the Englishmens hands, contrary her fon the king, and any fix in Scotland that he would wale, either gentlemen or yeomen, that the Englishmen should shoot against them, either at pricks, revers, or buts, as the Scots pleased.

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The king, hearing this of his mother, was content; and gart her pawn a hundred crowns, and a tun of wine upon the English-mens hands; and he incontinent laid down as much for the Scottishmen. The field and ground was chosen in St. Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the Englishmen, to wit, David Wemyss of that ilk, David Arnot of that ilk, and Mr. John Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee; the yeomen, John Thomson in Leith, Steven Taburner, with a piper, called Alexander Baille. They shot very near, and warred the Englishmen of the enterprize, and wan the hundred crowns and the tun of wine; which made the king very merry, that his men wan the victory.

This English embassador got presence in St. Andrews, and there he shewed his commission from the king of England unto the king of Scotland; and promised to him, if he would come to England, and speak with him, he should make him duke of York, and governor and protector of England, and put his young son in his hands in keeping induring his minority. The king was very well content of his desire, and promised to lord WILLIAM, that he should come when he saw time convenient, and his realm established and put to order, he should not fail to come to his uncle the king of England, to meet him in what place he pleased.

This being done, the embassador past home to England, with the king's answer to their king, who was well content, and very glad, believing the king of Scotland's promise: But, nevertheless, the wicked bishops of Scotland would not those the king to pass, but caused him send an embassador to excuse him, that

he

he might not come at that time; because, in the north parts of his realm, there was great slaughter, and he might not come till he had punished the same: For the bishops conceived in their minds, that if king HARRY met with our king, that he would cause him to cast down the abbeys of Scotland, like as he had done in England: Therefore they budded the king to bide at home, and gave him three thousand pounds by year to sustain his house, off their benefices.

But, in the mean time, there rose great trouble and hership in the borders, that the king, of force, behoved to fend his brother, the earl of Murray, to the borders, and made him lieutenant-general; and divided the whole realm of Scotland in four parts, and caufed every one of them to keep their quarters, which continued the space of a year; which was called by the common people, The Quarter-roads. Yet the king was constrained to send an embassador to England, named the bishop of Aberdeen, and with him three antient knights, to wit, Sir DAVID WEMYSS of that ilk, Sir DAVID BARCLAY of Cullernay, and Sir ALEXANDER STUART of Garleis. Thir embaffadors forefaid past with the king's commission, and a fecret writing, written with the king's own hand, and sealed on the back thereon, that no man should open the faid writing, till it was presented to the king of England; giving the bishop strict command, that he should keep the same secret, and not reveal it to no other but to himself alone, and send him answer thereupon written with his own hand, that neither the council nor fecretaries, nor no others should know the fecrets betwixt them, but themselves allenarly.

The embassadors past to England at the king's commands, and were well received by king HARRY at London, where they presented their commission in the king of Scotland's name, together with the secret writing, in king HARRY's own hand, desiring him to keep the same quiet and secret, that no man should see it, but himself allenarly, and to send the king of Scotland his answer again thereupon, written with his own hand, like as he had done to him. Of the which the king of England was very glad, and promised that

no man should fee the said writing. This being done, the embassadors past to their lodging, and made merry; till, on the morn, they were fent for like other embaffadors that were there before. The bishop being set in the council conform to his estate, seeing the board all full of writings, and letters of fundry embassadors of other countries, every one for their own affairs, as they had ado; but, in special, he faw the king's fecret writing lying patent and open to all the whole council to read. The bishop was angry, and thought the king had not done his duty to his mafter the king of Scotland, in putting of the writing before all the whole council, confidering the king's promise: For this cause the bishop started from the board, and took the king of England by the hand, and led him to the window, and faid to him, " Sir, " if it will please your majesty, if I might say, with " your licence, you have failed to our master the " king of Scotland." The king answereth the bishop, God forbid that I do fo, to fail my fifter's fon. " the mass, ere I sail to him, I rather put the crown " of England in jeopardy against any man that would " prieve the same: But if you gar me not under-" stand, wherein I have failed to him, you shall be " the author of the same failure yourself." The bi-" shop answered, " Sir, with your pardon, you pro-" mised.

" mifed, that the fecret writing that I prefented to " your majesty, from his majesty my master, that no " man should see it but your own felf; and now, Sir, " it is here present, and patent before the council, " that all men may read it that please." The king answered, " By the mass, my lord bishop, you are all " deceived; for no man bath feen it but my own " body; for there is no man yonder but my own " body in them, and they in me; for there is none " yonder that dare renounce any thing, under the " pain of hanging, quartering and drawing, and for-" faulting of their lands; and if your king use any " other privy means, but by his highness and wife " council, in the government of his realm, and his wown body, he will not reign long, nor have his " realm in peace and rest: Therefore shew him, " that neither I, nor he, nor no other king, may be " ruled, but by our council, to do any good, or to go-" vern our realm in peace and rest, for maintaining " of our commonweal, and preferving of our own " bodies."

By this the king had ended his speech, he sat down and the bishop to the council, where all matters were drest, and a good answer given to the bishop concerning his commission; but it was not hastily delivered at that time, but he remained in England the space of a quarter of a year. And, after the bishop had come home, he shewed the king the manner, how he had sped in his commission; and king HARRY's behaviour touching my lord of Angus and the Douglasses; and saw the king of England was so given to entertain them, the king took a great suspicion of them, and of their favourers that were in Scotland for the time, and

specially of Drumlanerick, and other of the sirname of Douglas.

The lady Glames, at that time, was accused for crimes of lese-majesty, and convicted, and burnt upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh. And at that time the master of Forbes was convicted for the same treason, and justified; who confessed, when he died, he was innocent of the crime which was laid to his charge; but he knew well it was the innocent slaughter of the laird of Meldrum that caused him to die the death, and not for treason against the king.

After this, there was a fingular combat betwixt the laird of Drumlanerick and the laird of Hempsfield, who provoked others in barrace to fight to death, for certain points of treason which were rehearsed betwixt them. But when the day was fet, and they compeared at Edinburgh in barrace, but unarmed at all parts, Drumlanerick being something fand-blind and saw not well, strake so furiously and so hot at his marrow, while he knew not whether he hit him or not; in the mean time the laird of Hempsfield's fword brake betwixt his hands; and then the king gart cry to the beralds, and men of arms, to red them; and fo they stanched, and fought no more. And likewise there were many Southland-men, that appelled other in barrace, to fight before the king to the dead, for certain crimes of lese-majesty.

Further, this year, there were certain godly men, who professed the Evangel of Christ, that were called and accused before the bishops and kirk-men, and were condemned and burnt, by the king's commission, at Edinburgh, one thousand five hundred and thirty years. The names of them, to wit, the vicar of Dolour, Mr.

NORMAN

NORMAN GALLOWAY, DAVID STRAITON, brother to the laird of Lauriston.

The accusation of the vicar of Dolour, and the articles thereof; that is to fay, the accuser, Mr. JOHN LAUDER, faying in this manner, " False heretick. " thou fayst it is not leifome to kirkmen to take their " tithes, offerings and crofs-puts, though we have " been in use of the same, constitute and ordained " by the kirk, our kings, and our holy fathers, the " popes, have confirmed the fame," The vicar answered and faid, " Brother, I faid not so. I faid it is " not leifome to kirk-men to spend the teinds and the " patrimony of the kirk, as they do, on harlots and " whores, and delicate clothings, riotous banquet-" ting, and wanton playing at cards and dice; and " the kirk riven, and the pulpit down, and the people " not instructed in God's word, nor the sacraments " duly ministrate to them, as the scripture of Christ " commands." The accuser answered, " Deniest thou " that thing, that is openly known in the country, " that thou gavest again to the parishioners, the cow " and the upmost cloath, faying, thou hadst no rea-" fon unto them?" The vicar answered, " I gave " them again to them that had more mister than I of " them had." The accuser answered, " What sayst " thou, that thou learnedst thy parishioners to pray " unto God, the Pater-noster in English; and also " teachedst them the Belief and Ten Commands in " English, which is contrary to our acts? Shall the " common people know any part or point of the " Scripture of God in English, or any part of the " Scripture be read in English, or any books there-" upon be used in English?" The vicar answered " and faid, " Brother, my parishioners and congre-" gation es gation were fo rude and barbarous, that they un-" derstood no Latin, that it was force to me, on my " conscience, to teach them and learn them the words " of their falvation in English, that is to fay, the "Ten Commands, which is the law of God, where-" by they might know their fins, and repent, and " forbear the same in time coming; and also the be-" lief, whereby they might know their faith unto " God, and Jesus Christ his son, his death and resurrection, and everlasting life through him. Further, " I teached them the Dominical Oration, which we " call the Lord's Prayer, in their own mother tongue, to the effect, that they might know and understand whom to they prayed, and in whose name, what they should ask or desire in their prayer, and what "s hope they should have in obtaining the same." Then the accuser answered, " Why didst thou by our " acts and constitutions, and the order and commandment of our holy father the pope, and all the Catholic church?" The vicar answered, " Verily, brother, I follow the order and commandment of " our master and sovereign Jesus Christ, and his a-4 postle Paul, who shews, in his doctrine unto the " Corinthians, in the fourteenth chapter, faying, I had rather speak two words to the unde standing and edification of the people, than ten thousand words in a language which they understand not, nor is " not edified therewith." The accuser answered, 4. Heretick, where finds thou that ?" The vicar answered, " My brother, in my book, which is here in " my fleeve." The accuser start to him, and pulled the book out of his fleeve, and held it up, and shewed it to the people, faying, " See the heretick, he hath

the book hid in his sleeve; lo, it is here, which is " herefy, and makes all this plea and cumber in the " holy kirk, and among the prelates thereof." The vicar answered, " Brother, you could say better if you pleased; but God forgive you, that calls the true Scripture of God to be the book of herefy." And_ with this turned him to the people, and faid unto them, " My dear brethren and hearty friends, believe " not this wicked man, that calls this book herefy: " for I affure you, there is nothing in this book, but " the latter will and testament of our Saviour Christ " Jesus, written by his four Evangelists, to our learn-" ing and instruction for our falvation in Christ." The accuser answered, " Heretick, thou cannot deny but " the New Testament in English is contrary to our " acts, and forbidden by the pope, and is enough to " burn thee, thief." Then the council of the clergy gave fentence on him to be burnt, for using of the fame book, the New Testament in English. And like. wife they condemned DAVID STRAITON, because he would not abjure and burn his faggot; which the king defired him gently for to do, and procured for his life at the bishops hands, who were content to give him the fame, if he would burn his faggot; which he would not confent to; and therefore they burnt him. I know no cause wherefore, but he discorded with his parson for not payment of his teinds. And likewise Mr. NORMAN GALLOWAY was condemned and burnt. I know no cause wherefore, but because he was in the East-land, and came home, and married a wife, contrary to the form of the pope's institution, because he was a prieft; for they would thole no prieft to marry, but they would punish and burn him to the dead ;

but if he had used then thousand whores, he had not been burnt.

This being done, the king past to the isles, and there held justice courts, and punished both thief and traitor, according to their demerit. And also he caused great men to shew their holdings, where-through he found many of the said lands in non-entry; the which he confiscate and brought home to his own use, and afterward annexed them to the crown, as ye shall hear. Syne brought many of the great men of the isles captive with him, fuch as, Mudyart, Macconnel, Macloyd of The Lewis, Macniel, Maclane, Macintofh, John Mudyard, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others that I canot rehearfe at this time. Some of them he put in ward, and fome bade in court, and fome he took pledges for good rule in time coming. So he brought the isles, both north and fouth, in good rule and peace; wherefore he had great profit, fervice and obedience of people a long time thereafter; and as long as he had the heads of the country in subjection. they lived in great peace and rest, and there was great siches and policy by the king's justice.

The king feeing he dantoned the north country and the isles, and there-through he fand he had great peace and rest, and there was great riches and policy, by the taking of the headsmen of the country, and putting of them in ward; and so conquest great love of the commons, because of the peace and rest in his time. And the king rejoiced when he had brought the wild Highlands, and the isles to this stability and persection, and set himself, by all means, to establish the like peace in the borders, like as he had done before in the isles: And, to that essect, charged certain great men

in the fouth borders forefaid, to enter in ward, in the castles of Edinburgh, Blackness and Dumbarton, there to remain during his pleasure; to wit, the laird of Buccleugh was warded in the castle of Edinburgh; the laird of Johnston and MARK KER warded in Dundee, with many other gentlemen of the borders, because, he knew well they were the breakers of peace; and nothing was done by the commons by their advice and command, where-through there was great reiff and hership in the country by thir said headsmen: But, from time that thir were taken. and put in captivity, as I have shewn, thereafter there was great peace and rest a long time; where-through the king had great profit; for he had ten thoufand sheep going in the Ettrick forest in keeping by ANDREW BELL, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the bounds of Fife.

In this mean time, there were certain lords and gentlemen banished out of the country for certain crimes of lese-majesty, viz. the earl of Bothwell, the master of Semple, the laird of Drumlanerick, with divers others.

Not long after this, the king, feeing the realm standing in such peace and tranquillity, rejoiced at the same, thinking daily that all things should increase more and more: To that effect gart send to Denmark, and bring home great horse and mares, and put them in parks, that, of their offspring, might be gotten to sustain wars in time of need. And also he sent to Flanders and France, and brought home artillery, powder and bullets, with pikes and harness, and other ordinance for war. And also plenished the country with all kind of crastsmen out of other countries, as, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Dutchmen and Englishmen, which

which were all cunning craftsmen, every man for his own hand. Some were gunners, wrights, carvers, painters, masons, siniths, harness-makers, tapesters, broudsters, taylors, cunning chirurgeons, apothecaries, with all other kind of craftsmen that might bring his realm in policy, and his craftsmen apparel his palaces in all manner of operation and necessaries, according to their order, and gave them large wages and pensions

yearly.

This being done, the king fent his ambassadors to the emperor for marriage, viz. Sir JOHN CAMPBELL of Loudon, knight, Sir DAVID LINDSAY of The Mont, Lyon-herald, who were well received by the emperor, and well entertained, and greatly rewarded for the king of Scotland's fake; where was presented to them two fair gentlewomen, which were the emperor's fifter's daughters, which were fair and pleafant in beauty, and feemly in their behaviour: For the which cause the embassadors brought home their pictures to the king, and presented them to him : he was content therewith, I cannot tell, but the marriage proceeded no further. But the king thereafter fent to France other embassadors for the duke of Vendome, viz. the laird of Erskine, the cardinal BEATON and Sir DAVID LINDSAY of The Mont, who were well received and entertained in France by the duke of Vendome and his dutchess, and also by his daughters, and granted all things to them, that they defired in the king of Scotland's name, concerning his marriage; but yet they had no commission to end, till the king faw the gentlewoman himself: And therefore, foon after, the king feeing his realm in good reft, he dreffed himself hastily to France, and sailed there within three days and three nights, till he was within a day's

a day's journey to France: But how it happened I cannot tell, but he haltily returned back again to Scotland. Some fay there were lords and gentlemen in his company, that defired not to pass to France, but to marry with fuch as they favoured in Scotland: when the king was fleeping, they caused the shipper to change his course, and come homeward again to Scotland. But when the king awaked out of his sleep, and knew that his course was changed where he was bound, he was offended at them all that gave him counsel thereunto; but specially to the shipper who changed his course, and returned again by his command; and, had it not been the more folistation and moyen that was made for him, the king had gart hang him incontinent: but, because he had pity and compassion on his wife and bairns, he gave him grace at that time, but he came never in his favour again, nor none of them that caused him, or gave him counsel to turn fail.

The king, seeing there was no remedy but to return to Scotland again, he gart land him at the nearest port of the West isles, and syne came to the isle of Bute his own castle, where he remained till he got horse and men to convoy him home to the castle of Stirling; where he remained for a certain space, till his ship came about to the frith, and remained in the road of Leith till he was provided to pass forward to France. For the which cause he assembled his council, shewing to them, how he was frustrate and put back again, as said is, by evil-advised persons, which at that time, he would not expresse; but he vowed, if he had live-days, he should recompense them, who were the hinderers of his journey, according to their labours. Notwithstanding, he gart incontinent provide

ships, men, victuals and artillery, and the best shippers and mariners that could be got upon the coast of Scotland, to pass in the faid ships with him again to France. and caused many of the nobility of Scotland to make them ready to pass with him within a certain day, viz. the earl of Arran, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Huntley, the earl of Errol, the earl of Athole, the lord Maxwel the lord Fleming, the lord Livingston, the lord Ruthven, the lord Salton, the earl of Cassils, the earl of Marshal, the earl of Murray, the earl of Rothes, the master of Erskine, for the lord, his father, was there before in ambassadry, and the cardinal: Also there were many barons and gentlemen to pass with theking at this time. And when the King had prepared himfelf and his ships, he past to Pittenweem, and there embarked himself and his nobles, and past forward to France, where he arrived at the Newhaven beside Deep,

Assoon as the Frenchmen saw the king of Scotland and his navy approaching near the land, they believed they had been strangers or unfriends, which caused them to be affeared, because there were many other strangers in his company, whereby he feemed to be a greater army, which made them all to be aghast in the Newhaven: But from time they faw the Red-lion of Scotland, they knew well it was the king; then they rejoyced at his coming, when they heard word and knew furely it was the king: Therefore the word ran through the country, that the king of Scotland was landed at the Newhaven, with a great army. The which novels came halfily to the emperor's camp, where it was lying for the time, to the number of fourscore thousand fighting men against the king of France, whose lieutenant was lying forenent him in camp of battle, in like manner, to the number of threefcore

threescore thousand men, who were daily skirmishing together; till, at the last, the novels came to the emperor, that the king of Scotland was landed at the Newhaven, beside Deep, with a great army, to the number of twenty thousand men, and to support the king of France contrary the emperor. The emperor, hearing thir novels, took such fear of the king of Scotland, that he took up his camp and departed forth of that bounds, home to his own country.

This being done, the king of Scotland landed himfelf and his nobles, and thereafter took post to Paris, where he remained fort while, till he past to the duke of Vendome to his place, where he was for the time. But the king of Scotland would not flew himfelf openly at that time, but difguifed himself as he had been a fervant, thinking he should not be known, neither to the duke, nor to his wife, or the gentlewoman who thould have been his fpouse; thinking that he should spy their fairness and behaviour, and be unknown of her and her father. Yet, notwithstanding, the fair lady took suspicion that the king of Scotland should be in that company; wherefore the past to her coffer, and took forth his picture, which she had gotten from Scotland by a fecret moyen; then she knew the king incontinent, where he stood among the rest of the company, and past pertly to him, and took him by the hand, and faid, "Sir, you stand over far aside; there-" fore, if it please your grace to talk with my father, " or me, as you think for the present, a while for " your pleasure, you may if you will.

The king hearing this, was a little ashamed, that he had disguised himself to be unknown, and syne was so hastily known by the moyen of that gentlewoman; then he past to the duke of Vendome, and took him in his

arms, and the duke again made him due reverence. who was greatly rejoiced at the king's coming; and fo were all the rest of the duke's company: And then the King past to the dutchess, and embraced and kist her, and fo did he to the dutchefs's daughter, and to all the rest of the ladies; and fyne excused him, why he was fo long unknown to them, defiring their pardon therefore: But he was foon forgiven and brought unto their favour. Then there was nothing but merrinefs, banquetting, great chear, music, and playing on instruments, playing melodiously, with galliard, dancing in masks, and pretty farces and plays, all were made unto the king of Scotland, and all other pastime, as justing and running of great horse, with all other pleasure that could be devised. There was made by the duke of Vendome a fair royal palace, with all costly ornaments to decore the king's honour, viz. the walls thereof hung with tapestry of cloth of gold and fine filk; the floor laid over with green freeze; the beds hung with cloth of gold; and a peal of gold fet with precious stones, which was hung about the king's head when he fat at meat, and the halls and chambers were perfumed with fweet odours, which were very costly, and delectable to the fense. was nothing left by the duke of Vendome, that might be done to the king of Scotland's honour: remained there the space of eight days, in great joy and merrinefs on both the fides, and many great tokens given and taken by the king of Scotland and the duke of Vendome's daughter, to wit, chains, rings, tablets, with diamonds, rubies, with many other precious jewels, which was to their great comfort and joy on both the fides. But yet the king and his council thought he would do nothing concerning his marriage at that time,

time, till he had spoken with the king of France, confidering that he was in his realm; he thought he would fhew him his mind, and have his counsel, ere he concluded any thing farther in that matter: Therefore the king took purpose to pass hastily to the king of France. where he was for the time, to do him all reverence that he could, for love that was betwixt the realms in time bypast; therefore the king hastily took post, but few in number with him, and past where the king of France lay, at that time, at his pleasure, at hunting and hawking, and other pastime, such as he thought meet for him, well accompanied with the queen his wife, and many other lufty ladies with the queen, his daughter, and his eldest son, with many other lords and barons. But when they heard tell, and faw the king of Scotland come in proper person, they all greatly rejoiced, and marvelled much of the king's coming through the sea, taking eventure, considering the brokennels of the feas, and the enemies great on every Also they marvelled of his great diligence in taking post and coming so hastily unto them, taking fear of nothing for the time. And as foon as the dauphin faw the king of Scotland, he ran unto him, and got him into his arms, and welcomed him heartfully, and shewed him that his father would be blyth of his coming, confidering as it stood with him at that time: For, a little before, the duke of Orleans his eldest son, who was dauphin at that time, was poisoned in the chapel by an Italian, which made the king of France to be very fad: But the coming of the king of Scotland gave him fuch comfort, that he forgot melancholy in time coming. But the king of France was in his chamber taking rest, and knew not of the king of Scotland's hafty coming; wherefore the king

of Scotland and the dauphin went to the king's chame ber-door, and knocked rudely. The king enquired who it was that knocked fo fast to inquiet him from his rest. The dauphin answered, " It is the king of " Scotland come to fee your grace, and to give you " comfort." He, hearing thir words, role from his bed, and opened the chamber-door, and received the king of Scotland in his arms, thanking God of his great benefits, that had taken one fon from him lately, vet he gave him thanks for fending the noble prince unto him to be his fon, accepting him in love and favour fo fervently as he had been his own natural fon gotten of his body; and commanded the dauphin, his fon, to wait upon him, and entertain him as his own brother; and see that none of his servants that came with him, but that they were treated and well entertained according to their estate: But the king tarried no longer there, but gart found his trumpets, and all men to horse; and also gart get fresh horse to the king of Scotland, because he came there in post; and that night the king came to a palace of his own, and remained there all that night. But yet in this mean time, the king of Scotland did his due reverence unto the queen of France and her ladies, and in special to the queen's daughter MAGDALEN, who was riding in a chariot, because she was fickly and evil-disposed; yet, notwithstanding all her sickness and malady, from time she saw the king of Scotland, and spake with him, she loved him fo, that she would have no man on life to her husband, but him allenarly; whereof the councils of France and Scotland liked nothing; for they were certified by the doctors, that no fuccession would come of her body, by reason of her long sickness and malady; and that she was not able to travail out of that country have long days. Yet, notwithstanding, the ardent love that this gentlewoman bore to the king of Scotland, caused her father, the king of France, consent unto her marriage with the king of Scotland: And, to that esset, desired the king of Scotland to consent to it; who consented unto it, for the love he bore to the king of France; and also, he knew there was great prosit, friendship and ally to be gotten at the king of France's hand; and syne, she being his eldest daughter, it was not good to him to resuse that honourable offer of the king of France, to have his eldest daughter in marriage, with what pleasure and prosit he desired with her.

Thir motives, and other more, provoked the king of Scotland fo, that he confented unto the marriage : which afterwards, when he came to Paris, was triumphantly folemnized with great joy and pleasure, as after follows; that is to fay, the king and council of France, on the one part; and the king of Scotland. and the most part of his nobility, on the other part : in manner, form and effect, as after follows; that i. to fay, the king of Scotland should marry, and take to wife, in presence of God and holy kirk, MAGDA-LEN, the king of France's eldest daughter, and love her, and treat her according to her estate, and give her honourable living, and lands in conjunct fee: And also the bond of peace contracted with France should be renewed again with thir two kings, to endure and stand for ever, like as it was first contracted by their predecessors afore. And further, for cause of marriage and love that the king of France bore to the king of Scotland, he should content and pay to him the fum of a hundred thousand Crowns of the

Sun, together with all other necessary pleasures and desires that the king of Scotland would desire of him hereaster.

The king of Scotland sent for many of his lords and barons to come to France to do him honour in the so-lemnizing of his marriage; and to compear at Paris at the day appointed to the said marriage in their best array, for the honour of Scotland, as they would do him pleasure and service.

Thir letters being feen by the lords of Scotland, both spiritual and temporal, who were well content of the same, and were content to obey the king their master in all points, as he had written, and made them ready for to pass to him incontinent in their best array, conform to their estate. The number that past, was, six earls, six lords, six bishops, twenty great barons, who were most familiar with the king. Thir all departed out of Scotland, and came to Paris against the day appointed of the king's marriage, and were heartily welcomed by the king of France, and the council thereof, and well entertained according to their estates. And the king of Scotland, their master, was glad of the same, seeing his nobles so obedient to do him honour to his pleasure and advancement.

This being done, immediately the marriage was following dat Paris, in Nostre Dame's kirk, at ten hours before noon, with the king of France and queen, their daughter and council, and all the whole nobility, on the one part; the king of Scotland, his council and nobility, on the other part; which was so great a multitude on both the sides, which would be cumbersome and tedious to rehearse: For there was never so great solemnity and triumph seen in France in one day, as was then, since the time of king Charles the Main. For there

there was fuch justing and tournament, both on horse and foot, in burgh and land, and also upon the sea with thips; and fo much artillery that in all parts in France, both on the land and fea, in castles, towns and villages, that no man might hear for the reard thereof: And also the riotous banqueting, delicate and costly clothings, triumphant plays and feafts, with pleafant found of instruments of all kinds: And also cunning carvers, having the art of necromancy, to cause things appear which were not, as, flying dragons in the air, shots of fire at others heads, great rivers of waters running through the town, and thips fighting thereupon, as it had been in bullering streams of the sea, shooting of guns like cracks of thunder: And thir wonders were feen by the nobility and common people. this was made by men of ingine, for outsetting of the triumph, to do the king of Scotland, and the queen of France their master's pleasure.

When all the triumph was done and ended, a little while thereafter the king of Scotland defired to pass home to his own country, with his queen MAGDA-LEN, with the rest of his lords and nobility that were with him.

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The king of France seeing this, that the queen of Scotland, his daughter, and the king, would depart home to their own country, he gart incontinent prepare ships and gallies, with victual and artillery, shippers, mariners and captains, and bands of men of war, to squyer the king of Scotland and his queen through the sea, that they were safely convoyed and preserved by them till they came in their own country; and also he gart prepare two great ships with canons, culverings, moyens, double salcons, with all kinds of other ordinance, with their powder and bullets, and all manner of other weapons ordained for war.

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When thir ships were well prepared and ordained, the king of France presented them to the king of Scotland, and gave him them to use as he thought good. which remained long time in Scotland; the one of them named The Salamander, the other The Merifher. The king of Scotland had two of his own at that time: the one called The Marival, the other called The Great Lyon, which were two lufty thips for war. These four, with other more great ships of France. were ordained to convoy the king of Scotland and the queen through the feas. This being done, the king of France caused his Mr. Stabler to pass to his cuirie. where his great horse were, and waled a dozen of the best of them, with all things requisite to them, and present them to the king of Scotland. Further, he gart his mafter of armory to pass where his harness was, and gart choose out twenty stands of harness, that were double overgilt and enamelled, and gave unto his fon the king of Scotland. In like manner, when this was done, he called on his daughter MAG-DALEN the queen of Scotland, and caused her to pass to his wardrobe with her gentlewomen and ladies, and bade deliver unto her what she pleased, of cloth of gold, velvet, fatin, damask, taffities, and other silks, to make her abuilziements as she pleased: And also commanded her to take what hingers or tapestrywork, and peals of gold and filk, as the pleafed; or any other jewels that he had in his wardrobe. Syne he gave her great gifts of chains, and all kinds of precious stones, that were or might be gotten for gold or filver. Such substance was never seen in Scotland as this young queen brought in it; for there was never the like in no man's time in Scotland.

All this being done, the king of Scotland took his leave at the king of France and queen, and at the whole court and nobility; and fo did his queen MAGDALEN and her ladies, and all the rest of his nobility, with great drinking on every fide. And thus the king of Scotland departed out of France, and came to the Newhaven beside Deep, and remained a day or two till the wind was fair; and fyne embarked in his navy, and pulled up fails, and landed, at the fifth day, at the shore of Leith, being the twenty eighth of May, with all his navy, which was the number of fifty thips of Frenchmen and Scottishmen, and other firangers that convoyed the king through the fea-And when the queen came in Scottish ground, she bowed and inclined herfelf to the earth, and took the muilds thereof and kiffed; fyne thanked God that he had brought her fafely through the fea, with her hufband, to their own country; fyne passed to the Abbey of Holy-rood-house to the king's palace, there to remain till her triumph of entress was made, which began to provide in all parts of Scotland; and specially in Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, Brechin, Montrofe, Aberdeen, St. Johnston, Stirling, Glasgow, Air, Linlithgow, St. Andrews, and Cowpar of Fife. Thir worthy and principal towns, that were commanded to make provision and triumph for the king's coming, and his receipt; but, nevertheless, their joy was soon altered, and merriness turned to sadness and mourning, for displeasure of the queen; for she departed that fame day forty days that she landed, being the fifth of . July: And therefore, all their great blythness and joy of her coming was turned in great mourning; and all the play that should have been made, was all turned in foul-maffes and dirigies; where-through N 2 there

there zeid such mourning through the country, and lamentation, that it was great pity for to see: And also the king's heavy moan, that he made for her, was greater than all the rest.

But we will let her rest with God, and return again to France to the duke of Vendome's daughter, who took such displeasure and melancholy for the king of Scotland's marriage, that she, within short while, took sickness, and died. But when the king of Scotland got wit, he was heavily displeased therewith; and, in short while after, sent his ambassadors to France for marriage, viz. the lord Erskine, and DAVID BEATON cardinal of Scotland and archbishop of St. Andrews, being bishop of Meropose in France, and abbot of Arbroth.

Thir ambassadors past at the king's command, and by the advice of his council and his commission, to France, for marriage of the dutchess of Lorrain, who was the duke of Guise's daughter, and there the said embassadors, with advice of the king of France and his council, agreed the marriage in all points, according to the king of Scotland's pleasure; syne sent him word, with all diligence, that they had ended the matter, and appointed the day of marriage, as the king their master had given commission; and desired to wit what was his mind thereintill, and what should be proceeded further in the said matter.

The king, hearing thir tidings, was very well content of their expedition; and gart provide hastily a navy of ships, and the lord Maxwel admiral thereof, with other lords, great barons and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men, by the king's own houshold; and gave the lord Maxwel commission to pass to France, to see the queen married; and

thereafter

thereafter to receive her in his keeping, that she remain there no longer, but come to the Newhaven, and there embark and ship so soon as wind and weather may ferve. And thus the lord Maxwel and his navy and army that passed with him sped with all diligence, and hasted the king's commission and command as he had given him, and came and faw the queen married; and thereafter received her, and brought her to the Newhaven: And, fo foon as wind and weather ferved, he shipped the queen; and syne pulled up fails, and failed to Scotland the nearest way. But because the cardinal had no charge of the queen in the home-coming, nor yet was tholed to come in the ship that she was in, he was discontent, and in special at the lord Maxwel, admiral, whilk gendred displeafure afterward.

The queen landed in Scotland, at the place called Fyfeness, near Balcomy, where she remained till horse But the king was in St. Andrews, with many of his nobility, waiting upon her home-coming. Then he, feeing that she was landed in such a part, he rode forth himself to meet her, with the whole lords. spiritual and temporal, with many barons, lairds and gentlemen, who were convened for the time at St. Andrews in their best array; and received the queen with great honours and plays made to her. And first, she was received at the new Abbey-gate; upon the east fide thereof there was made to her a triumphant arch, by Sir DAVID LINDSAY of The Mont, lyon-herald, which caused a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open instantly; and there appeared a fair lady most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in fign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace; with certain orstions and exhortations made by the faid Sir DAVID LINDSAY to the queen, instructing her to serve her God, obey her husband, and keep her body clean, according to God's will and commandments.

This being done, the queen was received unto her palace, which was called The New Inns, which was well decored against her coming. Also the bishops, abbots, priors, monks, friers, and canons regular, made great solemnity in the kirk, with masses, songs, and playing of the organs. The king received the queen in his palace to dinner, where was great mirth all

day till time of supper.

On the morn, the queen past through the town, she saw the Black-friers, the Gray friers, the old college and the new college, and St. Leonards; she saw the provost of the town and honest burgesses: But when the queen came to her palace, and met with the king, she confessed unto him, she never saw in France, nor no other country, so many good faces in so little room, as she saw that day in Scotland: For she said it was shewn unto her in France, that Scotland was but a barbarous country, destitute and void of all good rommodities that used to be in other countries; but now she confessed she saw the contrary: For she never saw so many fair personages of men, women, young babes and children, as she saw that day.

At thir words of the queen the king greatly rejoiced, and faid to her, "Forfooth, madam, you shall see better, please God; ere you go through Scotland you will see many good-like men and women, with other commodities that will be to your contentment." Then the king remained in St. Andrews the space of forty days, with great merrines and

and game, as, justing, running at the lists, archery, hunting, hawking, with finging and dancing in mafkery, and playing, and all other princely game, according to a king and a queen. And hereafter the king departed out of St. Andrews to Cowpar of Fife, and dined there; and fyne paffed to Falkland, and remained there a while in hunting of the fallow-deer, seven or eight days. Syne past to Stirling, where he was well received in the town and castle, with great mirth and pastimes for a while: And fyne past to Linlithgow to the king's palace, and remained one day or two there. The queen confessed the had never feen a more princely palace. And fyne he went to Edinburgh, where the king and queen were honourably received, with great triumph, in the castle, and in the town, and also in the palace; where they were honourably propined and righly, with the provost and community of the town, both with spices and wine, gold and filver; and also great triumphs, farces and plays, made unto the queen's grace on the expences of the faid town: And fo was then likewife in Dundee the space of fix or eight days, very magnificently treated by the town, where the queen made her entress. At the whilk time, the earl of Arrol was married with the earl of Lenox's eldelt fifter for the time, by advice of the king's majetty, with great folemnity of marriage, the archbishop of Glasgow and Caithness being present with the king. This was done upon the fifth day of August, in the year of God preceeding. And St. Johnstoun, every man of them according to their ability, received their queen and mistrefs, as it became them to do.

So it past over meikle of this year; till at last, the queen's grace conceived and became with child; and hereaster,

hereafter, when her time came, she was delivered by God's grace, of a fair son, born at St. Andrews, the tenth day of the month of one thousand five hundred and thirty nine years; thereafter was honourably baptized with great triumph and merrinefs, as was the use of the country at that time; and was fliled JAMES STUART prince of Scotland and duke of Rothfay, and was nourished and brought up in St. Andrews the space of a year thereafter; till that his mother, the queen's grace, conceived again and bore another fon at Stirling, in the month of in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty years, and was named Ro-BERT STUART duke of Albany, and earl of Fife and Monteith.

Not long after this, the king fet a parliament at Edinburgh, on the third day of December, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty; wherein the king ratified and approved his general revocation, the whilk he made in France, when he came of perfect age, to wit, at the town of Rouan, being of the age of twenty-five years; and because he was then off his own realm, and in France for the time, and had not his three estates there present with him: Therefore, as foon as he came to Scotland, he made his revocation of new, and ratified that thing that he had done; there, by instruments, he made it manifest in plain parliament, and took acts thereupon. And also he took the bones of ROBERT LESLY, and forfaulted him for certain crimes of lese-majesty. Many other good acts and constitutions he made in that parliament.

In the year following, the king took purpose to prepare all his castles and pleasant places for his pleasure, thinking that God, of his grace, had sent him such

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succession, that he needed not to care for nothing but his own pleasure: And so he became infolent, and unmindful of God's benefits that he had bestowed on him; and rather regarded his own pleasure and fensual lust, in the using of his own particular affairs, forgetting God's glory, and the commonweal of the country. and goodly behaviour of his lords and barons, not regarding their good and honourable counsels; but rather took respect unto the privy counsels of his familiar fervants, and certain kirk-men, as, bishops, abbots, priors, canons, monks and friers; who put him in fuch belief, that he might use his body as he pleased for they should stand good for his foul. So they abufed this noble prince, that they caused him understand. that all his lords and barons, and all other gentlemen that used or read the word of God in English, that they were plain hereticks, and not worthy to live under a christian king, nor to serve him; but rather to be burnt, and their lands confiscate and brought to the king's profit. So, with their ungodly and papiftical counsel, they enticed and abused this noble king, and caused him to break his promise to his uncle the king of England. The which promise he made by advice of his great earls, lords and barons, and, to ratify the same, had interchanged his great seal with England, for joining of both the faid realms in unity and peace in time coming; whereof the king of England was very defirous, as may be feen by his honest and reasonable offers, in his commission given to his embassadors; and, to that effect, came to York with great provision, to meet the king of Scotland, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty one; which embassadors foresaid presented their commission to the king of Scotland, with hearty commendations

and princely propines, which were presented to the king of Scotland by the ambaffadors, viz. lord WIL LIAM HOWARD, and the bishop of St. Davids, which they did right honourably deliver in the king of England's name; which were heartily received by the king of Scotland, and that by the counsel of his most wife and honourable lords, who thought the king of England's commission and lovely desire to be so reafonable, that they thought it not to be denied, but rather to be granted, for welfare of both the faid For the king of England's commission was realms: nothing to derogate the king of Scotland's honour, in no part, but rather to advance him in his high honour and fubitance, according to his princely effate: the king of England, thinking that he had no man fo fib and tender as the king of Scotland, his fifter's fon: nor there was no living creature that he favoured and loved fo well, except his fon EDWARD, whom he thought to have putten in his hands in government and keeping, because he was aged, and thought his days would not endure long: Therefore he defired affectuously to speak with his fifter's fon the king of Scotland, that he might make him duke of York, and governor of England, and to put his fon into his hands in keeping, for the more fecurity of his welfare, thinking the king of Scotland most native and kindly, to support and defend his son, if ought came to him but good. For this noble prince, the king of England, had ever a suspicion in his mind, that, when it pleased God to take him, that some of the greatest of his lords would put at his fon EDWARD, and trouble him in the brooking of his authority and realm, as they did thereafter, which is well known to all other countries about: therefore, this noble king fent his own hand-writ and commission unto the king of Scotland,

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his fifter's fon, in this manner as I have shewn you; and for no other cause, but to have joined both the said realms in such love and savour, that they should ever been able to have defended against their enemies, when time occurred. But yet the ungodly papistical bishops, with the abbots, monks and friers, with all the rest of the shavelings, took such scar and dreadour in their hearts, believing, if the king of Scotland and the king of England met, as their promise was, that their prosit and glory, and papistical kingdom; should go down; because the king of England had lately reformed, and casten down, the abbeys, and all the rest of the idolatry, and had set forth God's word to have free passage through England, that God might be glorished, and the people edised therewith.

Thir wicked priests and bishops foresaid taking such suspicion in their hearts, if the two kings met, that it should become of them as it was of England; therefore cast all the ingine and labour that they might, to dissolve the said meeting, that none effect should come thereof; sometime by crast and ingine, sometimes by deceit and salshood, offering to the king great gifts of gold and silver, saying to him, that he should not want gold and silver, so long as there was a benefice in Scotland; and, to that effect, constitute and assigned to him, of yearly rent of their benefices, the sum of thirty thousand pounds, to be taken up in manner of taxation by their collectors, and to deliver yearly and freely to the king, to defend and maintain their liberty

and the pope's authority.

Yet, for all this, the king was well minded to have kept his promise to the king of England, and that by the advice of his lords; whom when the priests perseived counselling the king in this manner, they were

not content therewith, and would fain been revenged on thir lords and gentlemen, whom they believed were counsellors of the king, to go to England to meet with his uncle the king of England, whilk they defired on no ways flould be done; because they were fleyed that the thing should come to pass which is practifed now already: And therefore devised a subtile mean against the said lords and gentlemen, to put them at discord with their native prince and king, in this manner as after follows; that is to fay, they delated by the Grey-friers, and gave up a bill to the king's grace, as hereticks, to the number of thirty fix score of earls, lords, barons, gentlemen, and honest burgesses and craftsmen; and their delation every man at his tail, given out by the Grey-friers unto the bishops, and the bishops delivered the same unto the king, faying to him in this manner: "Sir, what " needs your grace to pass to England for any sub-" ftance that king HARRY may give you, we shall " cause you to find enough at home in your country " of Scotland, so that you will do justice, as we shall " devife, upon thir hereticks, which we have given " you in bill, who are great readers of the Old and " New Testaments in English, with other fundry " points of delation which we shall give unto you; " for we shall take upon us and our consciences, that " you may fafely have their lands, heritages, possef-" fions and moveable goods, whole in your hands by " confiscation, for their wicked lives, and rebellion " against the kirk, and our holy father the pope and " his authority: Therefore, will you do us justice, " we shall put into your hands a hundred thousand " pounds of yearly rent, to augment the patrimony " of your crown in times coming, and to supply you ai »

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in your wars against our old enemies of England, or any other nation that will assail your grace. And we desire no more of you, but that you will give us a temporal judge, which we shall devise, that shall execute justice, and put to execution thir wicked hereticks, as we have shewn, to your great honour and profit, and to the pleasure of the kirk, and our holy father the pope, who, we have no doubt, but he will reward you right honestly and richly, for the maintaining of his authority."

The king, hearing thir words and false enticements of thir wicked bishops against God and his servants, nothing moved with the love that he ought to God, and to his true barons, but rather affected to covetousness, answered the bishops in this manner, saying, "My lords, I would fain that ye had justice, that the holy kirk might be desended and the liberty thereof: Therefore name and chuse a judge at your own pleasures, whom ye think will execute justice most sharply and rigorously, for punishing of these most sharply and rigorously, for punishing of these hereticks; and I shall command him, and give him my power, that whomever ye delate as a "heretick, to burn him, and put him to death at "your pleasures."

The bishops and kirk-men, hearing the king's answer, were well contented thereat, and chused Sir James Hamilton the king's familiar servants for they knew him to be of their own seet, and a blood-thirsty man, having no sear of God, but savourable to the pope and his religion, more than to Christ and his servants: And therefore accepted the office very thankfully, and was very rejoiced that he should have commanded him in that authority, saying to his grace, "That he did him never such a pleasure as to

"make him judge criminal to fik unhappy here." ticks; making a vow to his grace, that he should "make them hot arses, for his pleasure and the kirk;" believing well and surely to get some prosit and gains thereby. But God, of his mighty power and grace, stanched his sury and ire, and bloody wand contrary his servants, which he thought to have used for pleasure of the priests, if God had not stopped his sury: But the mighty God seeing the abusion of the king, and the evil and sury of his servant Sir James Hamilton, that he being in the first degree and samiliarity with his prince, God turned the matter so, that, by the expectation of man, he was taken and put in doleful prison, and soon after shamefully justified, as ye shall hear afterwards.

The faid Sir JAMES HAMILTON, lord Evandale, and principal familiar fervant unto the king, then standing in his highest degree in the court at that time. the king directed him, in the month of April, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty one, to pass to the isle of Rothsay of Bute, to reform his castle and palace thereof, that he might remain there some times of the year at his pleasure, with his court and queen, as pleased him best; and, for this cause, gave the said Sir JAMEs three thousand crowns to fie masons for to complete his work into the said Rothfay of Bute. And, on the morrow hereafter, the king past out of Edinburgh to Falkland; and, as he was riding the way, there came one to him, called JAMES HAMILTON, the sheriff of Linlithgow's fon. The king was afeared, and asked what was the motion, feeing that it was fo foon in the morning, and no man moving. But the faid JAMES answered, " I have e certain things to shew your grace secretly, for well " of

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" of your own life, concerning the welfare of your " own body." The king turned about and answered the faid JAMES, and took a ring off his finger, and gave it to him, and faid, "You shall pass to the " Chequer-house, where you shall find the secretary, " the master of houshold, and the treasurer, and shew " them thy mind, like as thou would show it to me, " and bid them hear thee as I were presently with " them myfelf, and then let them do hereafter 26 " they think good." With this, the king past forward to the Ferry to pass to Fife ; and the faid JAMES passed to the Chequer-house, as he was commanded, at the hour of nine, and there he found the fecretary, the treasurer, the master of houshold, like as the king had shown to him; and there presented the king's ring and token unto them to hear his mind, like as the king's grace had commanded, as he had been pre-The which lords accepted the fame, and defired him to show forth his mind, as he could best. Then the faid IAMES HAMILTON revealed certain points of treason of Sir JAMES HAMILTON of Draphan. where that he was fundry times bound to flay the king, when he might fee opportunity of time; and yet continues still on the same purpose.

Thir foresaid lords hearing this dittay given in by the said Sir James's native cousin and friend, gave it the more credit. When the king's officers had confulted upon this matter foresaid, they consented that they would take the said Sir James Hamilton, and put him in captivity till they had the king's mind hereupon; and immediately the king's officers past, viz. the treasurer, secretary, and master of houshold, and took with them the lyon-herald, and passed to the said Sir James Hamilton's lodging in Edin-

burgh, where he was lodged, and took him and put him in the castle of Edinburgh, there to remain during the king's will.

When the faid Sir James faw that he was put in the castle, not knowing any reasonable cause wherefore, he was heavily commoved at his inputters; and wrote unto the king's grace a letter, declaring to him how he was handled, and put in prison by the king's samiliar servants, and his own companions, desiring the king's grace, that he might be relieved out of captivity to speak with his grace. But when the king heard of his inputting, he was not content therewith; and wrote to the captain of the castle to deliver him at his pleafure; shewing to him, that they should have no thank that were his inputters.

But when the fecretary, treasurer, and master of houshold, heard thir words, that the king was not content with the inputting of the faid Sir JAMES, they were fore afraid to meddle with a great man, and fyne the king's grace not to be contented, thinking that, fome day, the fame Sir JAMES would quit them a common for their labours, if he obtained the king's pardon at that time: Therefore they paffed haftily to the king's grace all three, where he was for the time; and shewed him the terrible dittay given in upon the faid Sir JAMES, by his own friend, touching the king's own body; and shewed, if he would thole the same to be unpunished, they said, that they trusted he should not be long alive. So they put the king in fuch a fray and evil will at the faid Sir JAMES, that he came fuddenly to Edinburgh, and took him out of the castle, and had him to the Tolbooth, and gave him a fore affize of lords and barons; and there he was convicted of fundry points of treason, and thereaster was headed and quartered, and

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and his lands annexed to the crown. Whereof the country marvelled meikle, that so great a man, being in such authority with his prince, was suddenly deposed and put down by the expectation of any earthly man, thinking that it was but the divine punishment upon the said Sir James Hamilton; for he was ever a tyrant and a bloodshedder, and a conquisher of other mens heritages, whether he had right to them or not; at last, for pleasure of the bishops and kirkmen, he took in hand to be judge-criminal to all them that were the servants of God, and read the New Tessament.

By this we may fee, brethren, that when men fland in the highest degree, and greatest credit amongst men, misknowing their God, they are nearest a fall, as we may see well in the book of God, in comparison of this fame history, written in the book of Esther, of Haman and Mordecai. When the faid Haman stood in his highest degree with his master king Ahasuerus, and could not be content with his poor brethren the Jews, but he would purchase a decree from his master to put all the forefaid people and fervants of God to death, and to confisk their gear to the king's profit; and all this he did for envy of poor Mordecai; because he would not worship him in his authority, contrary to his conscience, therefore he caused prepare a gallows for him of fifty cubits high, to hang him upon; whereon, by the mighty provision of God, and good prayer of his fervants, he was hanged himfelf; and his goods, gear and lands were given to the faid Mordecai in efcheat. Therefore fo fared of the faid Sir JAMES HAMILTON; God turned his wrath presently, that he bore upon his brother, in unto himself, that he was deposed on this manner, as we have shewn; and all the fervants

fervants of God were faved, by God's mighty power, both from the king and the kirk-men, and the furious rage of this tyrant Sir JAMES HAMILTON. But we will let him rest with God, and return to our purpose and history.

The fame year a storm, called The Evil Storm, began the thirteen day of Zuille, and continued till the tenth of April thereafter.

At this time the king of England came to York, there to receive the king of Scotland, as his promife was: But the bishops would not suffer the king of Scotland to keep his promise; whereat the king of England was displeased, and great wars role upon the borders.

In this mean time, the king of Scotland took great suspicion of his nobles, that, on no ways, he could reft; thinking ever, that either one or other would deceive him. And, fome times of the night, he had great visions in his bed; for he thought ever, that Sir JAMES HAMILTON whom he had caused justifie before, came and fand him sleeping, and pulled a fword forth, and strake at him, and cutted off his right-arm; and thereafter immediately, with the fame fword, cutted off his left-arm; and then said to him in this manner, " Thou hast caused slay me wrong-" oully and unjustly; for I was innocent of the et crime that was laid to me: Though I was a finner " against God, yet I failed not to thee. Had I been " as good a fervant to my lord my God, as I was to " thee, I had not died that death: But now, here" " fore, thou shalt want both thy arms, and remain in " forrowful pain for a while; and then I will come " and strike thine head from thee, that thou mayelt " want the life."

With this the king awoke out of his fleep in a great fray, and shewed the same unto his secret servants that were about him for the time; who were therewith displeased and discontent of the king's vision, and impediment in his sleep, thinking that they would have halty tidings of the fame. But, on the morrow hereafter, word came to the king's grace, that the prince was very fick and like to die.

The king, hearing thir tidings, hasted him to St. Andrews to fee the manner: But, ere he came, the prince was departed, which was very forrowful unto Notwithstanding, immediately the post came forth of Stirling to the king's grace, shewing him that the duke of Albany, his fecond fon, would not live. Then the king's grace hasted him fast to Stirling to see the manner: But soon by he came there, the duke of Albany departed, with great mourning and lamentation made for the departing of thir two, both in forty eight hours; which was very forrowful unto the king's grace, and also to the queen their mother: But yet this lady gave the king good comfort, and faid that they were young enough, they might have more: And fo she, within short time, became with child to the king's grace, comforting the nobility of Scotland.

But foon after this, the borders of Scotland began to break, with great herships, both by sea and land. The king of Scotland, feeing this, cast his ingine to set a remedy hereunto; and fent certain bands of men of war to defend the same, contrary the Englishmen.

Soon after he fet a parliament at Edinburgh, the tenth of June, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty two; and there he made a new general revocation of all things that he had done in his

less age, that might hurt the liberty and patrimony of his crown: And also he approved and ratified all things that he had done in the amplifying of the liberty of his crown; and specially of the annexation of the lands, that he had annexed before to the patrimony of the crown, viz. the lands and lordships of the south illes and the north isles, with two Kintyres and their castles, the lands and lordships of the earl of Douglas, the lands and lordships of the earldom of Angus, the lands of Jedward-forest, the lands and lordships of Bothwel, the lands of Tantallon, with all other lands pertaining to the earldom of Angus; with donations and advocations of benefices; and fiklike the lands and lordships of Glames; and also the lands and lordships of Evandale, with the castle of Draphan, with all other lands and poffessions pertaining to Sir JAMES HA-MILTON, whom he had lately forfaulted before; and then ratified and annexed the same to the patrimony of the crown, and made an act thereupon, " That it " should not be leifome to his fuccesfors whatsomever, "king, queen, governor, or regent, to dispone any of the faid lands from the patrimony of the crown; " and it should be leifom to the next crowned king to " meddle with the foresaid lands, and take them again " home to his profit, and liberty of his crown, without any process of law; and that the occupiers and " labourers of the same should be constrained to pay

After thir statutes and laws, the king took a general taxation through all the whole realm, containing five shillings of the pound land (which sum arose to thirty thousand pounds Scots) to sustain his men of war.

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In the year following, the king made his fifter's fon. the earl of Huntley, lieutenant of the borders, general and furnished forth with him ten thousand men to defend the faid borders, and gave him a counfellor with him, who was a noble and antient lord, named Sir WALTER LINDSAY, knight, of Torphichen, and lord of St. John, who was well befeen and practifed in wars in Italy and Spain, and had foughten ofttimes with the Turks in defence of the Christians, in company with the lord of The Rhodes; and there he was made knight for his valiant acts; and thereafter came in Scotland and ferved our king, and had great credit with him, as I have shewn to you before; who gave him the whole guiding and government of his army: Though he made his fifter's fon, the earl of Huntley, lieutenant; yet he commanded him to do nothing by this nobleman's advice and counfel, whom he commanded to have the vanguard, where-ever the earl fought, or was affailed by the enemies of England, which was hastily thereafter, as I shall shew how. For thir two noblemen past out of Edinburgh to the borders, with ten thousand men, the tenth day of July, the year of God 1542.

Soon after, the Englishmen, getting wit of their forces, advertised the king of England thereof; who sent to them a great army, who garnished Berwick, Noram and Wark, and skirmished with the Scots the space of a month; but they had little vantage; till, at the last, they took purpose quietly to burn Jedburgh and Kelso, where the lieutenant lay and his army; but it was not so quietly provided, but the lieutenant had moyen thereof, by certain spies that knew the Englishmens purpose, which was to come in the dawning of the day: But the Scots prevened

the time, and past forth about midnight to the field, and watched starkly the Englishmen: But, in the break of day, the watches came and shewed the lieutenant, that the Englishmen were at hand, within the space of three Scottish miles, with ten thousand men in number, arrayed well in three battles. The leaders and governors were the earl of Angus of Scotland, and GEORGE DOUGLAS his brother, who then were banished in England: With them in company were my lord Bowis and his brother, some of the Percies of Northumberland, with Sir RALPH SADLER, Sir BRIAN LATOUN, Sir JOHE WITHRINGTON, Mr. HERON, Sir RALPH IVERS, Sir WILLIAM his brother, with many other good captains and soldiers, whom the king of England trusted and gave credit of his army.

Notwithstanding, the lieutenant of Scotland, hearing thir tidings, that the English army were so near, with fuch men and governors to them as I have shewn, took no fear hereof, but past manfully forward with his army to meet them, and put his men in array and order, as I shall shew you hereafter; giving this noble and antient lord of St. John the vanguard for to guide, viz. a thousand spears, five hundred bows, and hagbutters, which contained two thousand in the whole; and the lieutenant came afterward in the battle, to the number of four thousand spears, two thousand bows, swords and habergeons, which were to the number of fix thousand. While, at last, the daylight began to thine, that either of the faid armies appeared in others fight; and so the Englishmen perceived the Scottish army arrayed in their fight, and they not advertised thereof, flacked of their courage, and took purpose immediately to give backs and flee. On the other side, this noble captain lord of St. John perceiving

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perceiving the same, that the English-men, were not able to give battle, cried for fwift horses to give the skirmish; with that the Englishmen gave backs and fled, whereon followed the noble lord with all his force, and strake them down, and flew and took many prisoners, to the number of twenty-four-score gentlemen, and ten-score slain. This skirmish and defeat of Englishmen was from our redemption, one thousand five hundred and forty-two years, in the month of August. There was taken at this skirmish, the lord Bowes and his brother, Mr. SADLER, Sir JOHN WITHRINGTON, Mr. SALIS-BURY, Mr. HERON, and some of the Percies of Northumberland, with Sir RALPH IVERS, Sir BRIAN LATOUN, and other captains of the borders; they that were flain were but commons.

But thir news hastily came to the king of Scotland. who was well rejoiced at the same, when he heard tell that fuch a skirmish was betwixt his men and Englishmen, trusting that he would have peace therefore on the borders, by his present victory; but his belief was deceived: For fo foon as the king of England heard thir novels, he was heavily discontented therewith, and vowed to God fingularly, that he should have revenge for the same; and, to that effect, fent a herald to Scotland, and gave up truce with the king of Scotland, who was his fifter's fon, declaring to him, by his herald. if he would not keep his promile nor condition with him, he should put such order to him, as he put to his father; declaring to him, that he had the felf-fame wand keeping that dang his father; that is to fay, he had the duke of Norfolk living, that struck the field of Floudon, and flew his father, with many of the nobles of Scotland.

The king of Scotland, hearing thir words, was hear vily commoved at his uncle the king of England that he should boast him so with the duke of Norfolk who was his utter enemy, and had done no lefs to him than he spake. Yet the council of Scotland thought good to fend two embassadors to England to the king, to feel his mind, what he was purposed to do at that time : and also to fee if they might pacify his wrath contrary Scotland at that time : And fo the kine's grace, with advice of his council, directed away two noblemen as embaffadors to the king of England, his uncle, viz. Mr. WILLIAM STUART bishop of Aber. deen, and a noble knight called Sir JAMES LEAR MONT of Darcey, and Mr. Houshold to the king's grace of Scotland. Thir two, as foresaid is, were directed with a commission to the king of England, devised by the king and his council.

. These embassadors being thus directed to stay king HARRY's fury, when they came to the court of England could scarcely get presence for a long time; but were kept still without an answer, till an army of fifty thousand men of the choice of all England was prepared, under the conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who was commanded to pass in Scotland, and cause the king keep his promise, or else give him battle, Further, the king's grace fent a fecret writing, written with his own hand, and fealed and closed so straitly as could be devised for opening of the fame, that no man should fee the fame, till it were presented to the king of England's grace, with directions to thir faid embaffadors, that no man should know the faid writing faving the two kings by their own proper persons; and requesting the king of England fervently, that he should let no man fee

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the faid writing but his own proper person, and that he should write the answer of the said writing again with his own hand to the king of Scotland, like as he had to him, for familiar love and secret betwist them two.

The embassadors past out of Scotland, in this manner as I have shewn you, to London to king HARRY: where they were but thraftly received of the king and council of England at that time; yet, notwithstanding, they presented their commission from the king and council of Scotland, together with the fecret writing presented by Sir JAMES LEARMONT of Darcey, knight, as the king of Scotland's familiar fervant. desiring the king's grace of England to keep that writing fecret to himfelf, and that no man should fee the fame but his own body, like as the king his mafter had given him command: befeeking the king of England's grace to write the answer of the said writing with his own hand, and close the same, in like manner as the king of Scotland his mafter had done, for fecretness of the king of Scotland. The which the king of England promised to the faid Sir JAMES, that no man should see that writing but his own body, and to that he should send the answer thereof as he defired.

This being done, the embassadors past to their lodging; till, on the morrow, the king and council convened, and then sent for the Scottish embassadors to come to the council, like as others did that were embassadors there for the time; such as France, Spain, Denmark, with others that were convened there for their leisome business. But when the council was all set, and every man conform to his degree, and all writings and letters laid on the board, casten abroad to the said lords and council of England to advise

with, as it became them, and fyne to give an answer thereupon conform to the commonweal and honour of their country; but immediately Sir JAMES LEAR. MONT of Darcey, knight, who was embaffador of Scotland, perceived the king of Scotland's fecret writ. ing, that he had prefented to the king of England on the night before, with fuch direction from his mafter. as I have shown to you, that the said writing should be kept fecret betwixt the two kings, the whilk the king of England promised to do as the king of Scotland de-But when Sir JAMES faw the faid writing lying upon the board patent to every man that pleased, that was there for the time, believe well he was very angry with himfelf, and thought no lefs than the king of England had failed to his mafter the king of Scotland, though he durst not openly speak the same in presence of the king and his nobility: But yet this man, being of a bold spirit, could not suffer the matter long to be unregrated to the king; but, fo foon as he rose from the board, passed to the king's grace, and fell on his knees, and faid unto the king of England in this manner, as after follows. " Sir, if it please " your majesty, if I durst fay, with licence and pardon, " you have not kept your promise to our master the " king of Scotland; for his fecret writing that I pre-" fented to you, which you promifed to keep to your " own felf, and that no man should fee the same but " your own body, which now I fee laid open and pre-" fented on your board to all men that please to read " it."

The king of England, hearing this man's complaint, and ennaration, perceived him to be wife and true in his master's commission, and so fervent in that cause, answered him in this manner, saying, "My heart, Sir

" JAMES, I had rather give twenty thousand pounds " sterling, ere I failed to my sister's son the king of " Scotland, your master, or break any promise to him. " as you allege: And as for your writing that you " fee yonder open upon the board, no man hath feen " it but my own body; for they that are yonder are " my own body, and I the head; and they are in " me, and I in them, in all conclusions and counsels " holden or given in England by me, fince I was king " thereof; and be you fure that they dare not any of " them show any point or jot of my secret to any o-" ther, for all the gold in England. And you may " affure my fifter's fon, the king of Scotland, if he " use himself, or the commonwealth of his realm, " otherwise, in any secret manner, without the ad-" vice of his lords and great men and counfellors, as " I do, and make them his own body, and he to be " their head, or else he shall have an ill-guided realm, " and tyne himself and them both, and misfair the " government and guidment of his country and com. " monweal thereof; and, at the last, his own felf " misknow him, and his enemies shall overcome him, " when he has most ado : Therefore I would coun-" fel him to discharge all privy counsel, and specially " priefts and flatterers, who hindred him to speak with " me, which he shall know them as evil counsellors " at the length .. "

So the king of England made an end of his communing to the embassadors of Scotland, and gave them no answer at that time, but off-putting, till he had made and prepared his army to come in Scotland with the duke of Norfolk, as ye shall hear thereaster.

The king of Scotland hearing of the news foresaid, and getting word that the king of England was prepar-

ing a great army to come to Scotland with the duke of Norfolk, and hearing no answer of his embassadors. incontinent caused make proclamation through all Scotland, to all manner of man betwixt fixty and fixteen, both spiritual and temporal, burgh and land, as well in the far isles as firm land, to compear at Edinburgh with forty days victuals on the Burrow-muir; and further, to pals with the king where he pleased, in defence of the realm, contrary the Englishmen, which were coming hastily to invade his realm; who came in Scottish-ground the second day of October, which was the third day of the king's convention of his nobility at Falaw: Who convened there with the whole number of his lords and barons, gentlemen and freeholders, and all manner of men betwixt fixty and fixteen, which gave their musters, and were found numbered by the heralds fifty thousand fighting men, by the vanguard, who were with the earl of Huntley for the time, together with the whole borders of Scotland. Of all were counted fixty thousand in number; whereof there were twenty thousand pikes and spears, and twenty thousand with bows and habergeons, and twohanded fwords, which was the armour of our Highlandmen; and also of artillery and canons, fix great culverings, fix battars, fix double-falcons, and thirty fieldpieces, and forty carts with powder and bullets, and pikes and spears, with all kind of ordnance of munition, which pertained to a prince against his enemies-And, the fecond day thereafter, they came to Falaw, and marched forward befide Lawder, to a place called The Barlahaugh, near the kirk of Lawder; and there came a post from the earl of Huntley, the king's lieu. tenant, shewing to him that the duke of Norfolk was coming over Tweed, and fent message to him, desiring battle

battle of the king's majefty, or else to keep his promife that he had made to the king of England.

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Of thir news the king was wondrous commoved, and caused the lords to affemble together to a council. holden at Lawder-kirk, and the king shewed to them his mind by two of his wifest lords: for he came not himself to that convention, but directed his mind to them, as after follows; that is to fay, he defired of his lords, that he might be revenged of the duke of Norfolk his enemy, who was coming in Scotland to invade him, at the king of England's command, with his whole puissance and ordnance against him.

Upon this the lords took to be advised, and to give the king's grace an answer thereupon. The lords falling in a disputation in this manner, saying amongst themselves, that they could not pass forward at that time with their honour and conscience, because of the band that was made betwixt the king of England and the king of Scotland; the which band and promise was fealed with the great feal of Scotland, and subscribed with their own hands; but yet they promifed to the king, if the duke of Norfolk came forward to invade their native country, they would defend; but they would not pass in England at that time.

This answer was sent to the king by the whole lords of the council, born and repeated by the earl of Glen-But when the king heard this answer, he was no ways contented. But, in this mean time, a watch came, and shewed the king that the duke of Norfolk was past back again over Tweed, and was camped on English ground.

Of thir news the king was very desirous to have followed him in England, and to fight with him; but the lords would confent, on no ways, thereunto, nor give

their counsel that the king should go any further at that time, confidering that the duke of Norfolk had done no skaith in Scotland at that time ; neither burnt, nor herried, nor destroyed any town: Therefore they had the less will to follow him on English ground, to do him any skaith, though the king was very ardent there. Then the lords, feeing that the king's mind could not be restrained from battle, and in special from battle in English ground, they laid their heads together in council, that they would not fight at that time for the king: For there was some of them that faid, he was a better priefts king than he was theirs. and used more of the priests counsel than he did of theirs Therefore they had no heart to fight with him in battle; but faid it were more meritorious to hang all his fecret fervants, and his familiar counsellors. that gave him such counsel contrary the welfare of his realm.

This was concluded among themselves, and declared unto the king by some of their counsel. But when the king's grace was advertised hereof, and knew well their minds, he made no longer tarry, but past hastily, with his houshold and secret servants, to Edinburgh. But the council, and all the whole army, continued still, till on the morrow that they got fure word that the duke of Norfolk was retired homeward in England; and then the lords pulled up their pavilions, and returned homeward. Then the king of Scotland grew very commoved at the lords, because they would not pass in England to fight with him against the duke of Norfolk, who had flain his father at Floudoun; and vowed fingularly, that he should cause them pass in England, and fight, or else flee and shame themselves, or else Scotland should not hold him and them both: And.

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And, in his high rage and fury, made a proclama. tion to all lords, barons, gentlemen and freeholders, to be in readiness, within twenty-four hours warning, to follow the king where he pleased. So, on the fifteenth day of November, the king past to Peebles, and made warning to all the lords and gentlemen of Scotland to follow him, and meet him at Peebles, and there to pass with him where he pleased: For incontinent he passed to Mosfat, and syne to the water of Esk; and then fent in his lords and gentlemen into England to burn, herry and waste the country; which was very fore against the lords counsel, and will, and would, on no ways, take the matter on hand, nor yet confent that the king should pass there himself, to use such rigour or malice to his mother-brother the king of England.

When the king faw that his lords would, on no ways, please to pass forward, nor had no will to serve his appetite, he caused to make a proclamation in the midft of his army, and made OLIVER SINCLAIR one of his familiar fervants, lieutenant over the faid atmy; and commanded them straitly by the heralds all to obey the faid OLIVER, and pass with him where he pleased, as they would do with the king's own body: And the king passed himself a little from the army, to the castle of Lochmaben, to remain there to see what success came of his enterprize. But the lords and nobility of Scotland feeing his wilful mifgovern. ment toward his own commonwealth of Scotland, and that he would not use their counsel thereinto; but he abused them so, that, in the place of great earls and lords, that should have been lieutenant and governor of his army, or battle at this time, he chused one of his courtiers to be governor of his army, and to be

lieutenant, and discharged great earls and lords which had it before; fuch as, the earl of Huntley, the lord of Maxwel, with other great men on the borders : Thir lords feeing this, confulted together, and faid they would, on no ways, fight under OLIVER SIN. CLAIR's banner, for they knew him not for a governor or lieutenant to them; and concluded whole in one purpose, that they had rather be taken and had to king HARRY, than for to abide the king's fury in Scotland, or tyranny wrought on them by counfel of the priefts and courtiers: For the priefts, as I have fhewn you before, abused the king's grace so, that they put great diffension betwixt him and his lords, and caused him understand, that they were all hereticks. and readers of the Old and New Testament : And therefore were worthy to be burnt, and their lands and goods confiscate and brought to the king's profit. Of this the courtiers were well contented, and many of them confented hereunto, because they were the bithops pensioners; thinking, that if such things came forward, they would get fome cafualty thereby.

Thus the king was abused, and tint many of the hearts of all his lords; for he gave them no credit, and they hoped no good in his hands: Therefore they tint hearts, and had no will to raise fire in England. But the Englishmen, on the other side, seeing so great an army of Scotland coming upon them so hastily, which was to the number of sisteen thousand gentlemen, by borderers, coming in good array like as they would have soughten; at this the Englishmen were sore aghast at the coming of the Scottishmen so hastily; and then, without any manner of warning, they convened themselves together, that they might be advised. But their number was but sew and small

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to the respect of Scottish-men; yet they were all borderers, and could ride and prick well, and held the Scottish-men in pingling by their pricking and skirmishing; till the night came down on them; and they were in fuch strait ground, where they knew not the passages, that they could scantly retire in order as they should have done, and they had no vivers, horsemeat nor man's-meat, to tarry that night, nor yet guides to pass through the passages, which they might fafely ridden; but they retired, uncunningly, to a part called The Stagmire, where there was no paffage; and fyne to the water of Eik; and there the fea was in, and the water was four fathom deep, where the hoft came over; yet, in all the straits, they had no kaith of Englishmen: But, at the last, they came to a place called, The Solway-Moss, where-through neither horse nor man might pass, and there laired all their horse, and mischieved them, that force it was to take them to their feet: And then the Englishmen. feeing the Scots at that strait, cried with so hideous shouts and cries, that they put such a fear to the Scots, that they brake and fled; and there were many of them taken by the Englithmen, and had in England. So the hoft was dispersed and scattered abroad, and the night was growing mirk upon them, that they knew not where they were, nor a Scottish-man by an Englihman: And fo, by this unhappy chance and mifgovernment of the Scottish-men, there were many Scottish-men taken, and had into England as prisoners. and specially the great lords, and barons, and courtiers were taken there; and had to London to king HAR-RY, who were well entertained there, as after I shall hew you; but there were few flain, neither by English

nor Scots, but twenty-five persons, viz. ten Scottishmen, and fifteen Englishmen.

Thirnews coming to the king of Scotland, wherehe was for the time, viz. in the castle of Lochmaben. shewing to him how his lords were taken, and his army defeat; then the king grew wondrous forrowful and pensive in his heart, seeing no good success come to him, neither by chance nor fortune, against his enemies. Then he began to remord in his conscience, and thought the government of his life toward his God had been the principal cause hereof, remembring himself, that he had broken promise to his uncle the king of England; and also had tint the hearts of all his nobles. through evil counsel and false flattering of his bishops, and the privy counsel of his courtiers, not regarding his wife lords counsel: He knew well that thir causes had the wyte of his mifgovernment and shameful chance that he had sustained in that journey; wherethrough he took fuch melancholy and displeasure, that no comfort, on no ways, by no godly man, might fatisfy him, nor bring him to rest. He passed to Edinburgh, and there remained eight days, with great dolour and lamentation for the tinfel and shame of his lieges, which was, by misfortune and evil government brought to shame and dishonour; which put the king's grace in despair that he could never recover his honour again.

This being done, the king past out of Holy rood-house to Falkland, and there became heavy and dolorous, that he never ate nor drank that had digestion; and so he became vehement sick, that no man had hope of his life. Then he sent for certain of his lords, both spiritual and temporal, to have their counsel; but,

ere they came, he was nearhand strangled to death by extreme melancholy.

By this the post came to the king out of Linlithgow, shewing to him good tidings, that the queen was delivered. The king enquired, whether it was a manchild or a woman. The messenger said, "It is a fair "daughter." The king answered, "Adieu, sarewel, "it came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass." And so he recommended himself to the mercy of Almighty God, and spake little from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords, and his face unto the wall.

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At this time, DAVID BEATON cardinal of Scotland, standing in presence of the king, seeing him begin to fail of his strength and natural speech, held a throch of paper to his grace, and caused him to subscribe the same; wherein the said cardinal wrote what pleased him for his own particular well, thinking to have authority and preheminence in the government of the country: But we may know hereby the king's legacy was very short; for in this manner he departed, as after I shall shew you. He turned him upon his back, and looked, and beheld all his nobles and lords about him, and gave a little smile of laughter, syne kissed his hand, and offered the same to all his nobles round about him,; thereafter held up his hands to God, and yielded his spirit to God.

This noble prince, if he would have used the counfel of his wise lords and godly men, and used his body after their counsel, he might have lived, by nature and expectation of man, forty years longer than he did: But he departed the thirty-first year of his age, the twenty-ninth of his reign, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and forty-two, the twentieth

day of December, at Falkland, in his own palace, and that very quietly: For few were at his departing, except the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, the earl of Rothes, the lord Erskine, the lord Lindsay, the doctor, Mr. MICHAEL DURIE, Sir DAVID LIND. SAY of The Mont, lyon-herald, the laird of Grange, ANDREW WOOD of Largo, NORMAN LESLY, mafter of Rothes: the rest were but his own secret servants And this noble prince, if he would have received the counsel of his wife and godly lords, and would have kept his body from harlotry, and had left the evil counsel of his papists, bishops and greedy courtiers, he had been the most noble prince that ever rang in the realm of Scotland: For he was full of policy and honesty at his beginning, and did many good acts in his realms, as, bigging of palaces and castles, and furnishing the realm with good artillery, with all other kind of weapons, as, harness, picks and spears, and all other provision for his realm, as accords for a king and the commonwealth of his realm. But from time he was abused with papistry, and would not suffer the word of God to have free passage in his realm, whereof he would never hear, because it teaches sinners to repentance and amendment of life, and specially idolaters and adulterers; and the faid king, knowing himfelf to be one of those, he had the less will thereof, because it accused his conscience, if the word had been truly preached. And another cause there was, the great profit that the bishops gave to him, by the pope's men, to defend the authority of the kirkmens liberty. that he, abused through covetousness, consented to their wicked and evil counsel against the Evangel of Jesus Christ, which was the principal cause of his evil fuccess in his latter days: For the bishops, priests and

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and friers caused him understand, that he might take his pleasure through all Scotland of what gentlewoman he pleafed, whether she were married or unmarried; and fo to fpend his body upon them as he pleased, contrary the commandment of God; they put him in fuch belief, that they should not impute to him any sin, so he used their counsel, and defended their liberty of the holy kirk. So they caused him both to use idolatry and adultery; viz. idolatry, in stopping of Christ's Evangel, authorizing the mass and pilgrimage, with other vain superstition; and adultery, in using other mens wives. So they abused this noble prince, that he tint the favour of God, and nobles of his realm; whereat he took great difpleafure and melancholy, whereby he was strangled to death, in manner as I have shewn you before. Always this prince left meikle riches behind him, both of gold, filver, jewels, horfes and ships, with many more moveables, which never came to count to any of his own, as is known to the whole nobility and lieges of Scotland.

But we will let him rest with God, and return to our history, giving a general admonition to all kings, princes, or governors, or any that bruiks authority for the time, that they begin at Almighty God, to set forth his glory into the realm; viz. to cause preach the word of God truly to the people, and cause an ecclesiastical discipline to be used by the ministers thereof. Next, cause visit and provide for the poor, and bring up the youth at schools, and see that the patrimony of God's kirk be well paid by the temporal men that have it in their hands; and that it be spended in this manner by them that take it up, which is the will of God, pronounced by the mouth of his prophet Malachi, in the

third chapter. This being done, God first served his glory fet forward, then use the civil order conform to a godly king; that is to fay, to minister justice equally to great and fmall, poor and rich, and reward them them that do good, and punish them that do evil: and treat and honour the true lords of the realm who are godly and honest, and use their counsel; and, in like manner, punish and correct the greedy and covetous lords and barons who are oppressors of their neigh. bours, disobedient both to God and their prince. And, attour all things, let princes and governors, or whofomever that bruiketh authority, keep his body clean and undefiled, and pure from all harlotry and avarice; in so doing, obeying God, as I have spoken, I have no doubt but God shall cause his subjects to obey him. in all godly and honest affairs, according to the honour of God, and the welfare of his realm, as I have shewn to you before: Therefore I befeek God, of his merey, to instruct, maintain and illuminate the hearts of all Christian kings, to consider the admonition that I have forespoken to their instruction. Amen.

THE

HISTORY

OF

QUEEN MARY.

IN the year of our Lord one thousand five hun-I dred and forty-three, in the month of January, many of our lords and barons of Scotland were lying captive in England, being taken at Solway-moss, and were kindly entertained by king HENRY. which time word came to England of the death of king JAMES V. whereat king HARRY fighed, faying, " Wo is me, for there will never reign in Scot-" land a king so sib to me, neither whom I favoured " fo much, or fo affectuously wished for his confe-" rence, which would have turned to joy and benefit " to us both, if he had not been hindered by evil " counfel." But when the messenger told him that the Scottish queen was delivered of a daughter, and no more fuccession left by the king, he then began to conjecture that which after came to pass, that, in regard of the facility of the earl of Arran, next heir to the crown, by the kirkmens counsel, and the queen's procurement,

Procurement, being a French woman, the lords of Scotland would be induced to put this young queen in the hands of the French, rather than his, albeit she was so near of his blood: Wherefore he set himself, by all means, to bring the two realms to an alliance, and so to unity, peace and concord. To this effect, he used the lords of Scotland, his captives, very friendly, and bountifully dismissed them, desiring nothing of them, but that they would stand his friends, and do their best in the council of Scotland, when time should offer occasion, to bring both the realms to an union, their honours and allegiance safe. The lords, having promised this much, returned home the twenty-sisth day of January, one thousand sive hundred and forty three.

Meanwhile, the cardinal, feeing the earl of Arran. who was nearest of the blood-royal, to be a facile and simple man, unmeet for government (as he thought) fet himself to purchase that room of authority and government of the state, during the minority of the princess, by the means especially of the queen-mother, the earl of Argyle, the lord Seaton, and other his friends; pretending the king's testament and latterwill, wherein he himself had been appointed governor of the realm, and tutor to the young queen. The queen-mother and lords of the French faction favoured But the earl of Arran, by the advice him highly: of his friends, disdaining to be stopt of his right by a prieft, joined himfelf with the earl of Angus, returning from England after fifteen years banishment, knowing him and his brother Sir GEORGE to be men of great action and experience; whereof the queen and her faction were not well content. Hereupon both parties made all the friendship they could against the next convention of the estates, which was holden at Edinburgh,

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Edinburgh, the tenth day of February, in the year forefaid.

In the which convention, TAMES HAMILTON, earl of Arran, was chosen protector and governor of Scotland; the cardinal and his faction appealing from this election, and asking instruments thereupon. There came also to this convention a herald from the king of England, defiring a fafe conduct for an embaffador to treat with the governor anent the affairs betwixt the two realms. Which defire was granted by the advice of the governor's counsel. There was also a herald directed to England for re-delivery of the garter and order of St. George, in the which JAMES, the late king of Scots, had been invested by his uncle king HARRY, who rewarded the herald richly, and fent an embassador after him, named Mr. Sadler, whom the governor received very kindly. He flayed three months in Scotland, labouring for a marriage betwixt the prince of England and princess of Scotland, and uniting of the two realms in perpetual friendship; whereunto the governor and his council haltily affented, and bound up the fame most amply, under the interchange of the great feals of Scotland and England. But the cardinal, the kirkmen, the queen-mother, and all the French faction, being enraged hereat, laboured fo earnestly in the constrary, that the marriage was retreated in plain parliament; the bishops also, and other kirkmen, and the citizens of Edinburgh, used the English embassador very dishonourably: Whereby king HARRY being justly irritate, fent an army by fea, which landed at Granton-Grange west by Leith, the third of May, in the year foresaid, to the number of forty thousand men; who, having remained certain days in Leith, passed up to Edinburgh, and burnt the town.

town, and the whole kirks thereof, with the king's palace of Holy-rood-house. They shot also at the castle; but the garison ishing forth and skirmishing with them, they were forced to retire, leaving some of their ordnance behind them, which yet remaineth in Scotland; some part also they broke. They took also the castle of Craigmillar, spoiled it, and burnt it, with the villages adjacent to Edinburgh; and, at their departure, burnt the town of Leith, revenging the dishonour done to their embassador.

After their departure, the lords held a convention: and confidering that the cardinal had been the occasion of breaking the amity betwixt the two realms, and of the mischief ensuing thereupon, resolved to put him in prison; and while he was sitting at table in the council, they caused officers lay hands upon him, and put him in a secret chamber; and thereafter delivered him in keeping to my lord Seaton: But this lord, being partly moved with the queen's favour, partly allured by great gifts of gold and filver, let him escape: So that he raged more furiously than before, with all contempt of the authority. He procured, by fecret messages, the earl of Lenox to come home from France, moved the more by the queen's supplication, promifing him the marriage of the queen-mother, and governorship of the realm, in place of the earl of Arran, whom he undertook to prove to be a bastard. The French king, notwithstanding he highly esteemed the earl of Lenox; yet, upon these reasons, he dismist him, with promifes of affiftance.

The governor, to prevent this storm, resolved to get the young queen in his hands. But the cardinal advertised thereof, with great gifts of gold, drew the earl of Argyle, and other noblemen, to his faction;

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pa da who affembling to the number of ten thousand men. past to Linlithgow, where the queen-mother and her daughter were. The nobility also being unwilling to put the young queen in the hands of him who was nearest heir to the crown, at length it was accorded, That four indifferent noblemen, the lords Graham, Lindfay, Erskine, and Livingstoun, should receive the young queen and her mother, and keep the princess in the castle of Stirling, as they would be answerable to God and the estates of the kingdom, upon the pain of forfaultry, till further order were taken. Hereupon the cardinal and governor skaled their armies, and met in Linlithgow; and by the queen-mother's mediation, were finally agreed; and on the morn, palt to Stirling with the young queen, to whom the whole lords of Scotland affembling, the queen was crowned the twentieth day of August, in the year foresaid, with great folemnity.

When the earl of Lenox, who had been received by the cardinal with many flattering words, understood that the governor and he were agreed upon all things, repented himself of his rash enterprize. The cardinal, as he savoured the governor after his reconciliation, as being his near kinsman, son to his mother's sister; so he would gladly have been rid of the earl of Lenox with his credit: Wherefore he moved the queen-mother to entertain him tenderly, and hold him in hope of her marriage, and so pacify him, till time might work further.

The earl of Bothwel, at the same time, being a gallant young nobleman, hoped for the marriage of the queen-mother: So that these two earls daily frequented the court, striving in magnificence of apparel, and in all courtly games, the one to exceed the other, especially

specially in the queen's fight. But the earl of Lenox. being well bred in the wars of France, furpassed the other, both in ability of body, and dexterity of exercife. He was of a strong body, well proportionate, of a fweet and manly vifage, straight in stature, and pleafant in behaviour. Bothwel was fair and whitely, fomething hanging-shouldered and going forward; but of a gentle and humane countenance. These two being fed with fair words for a time, at length the earl Bothwel, having spent very much, was forced to retire. The earl of Lenox urged the queen and cardinal to perform their promise, or else to refund his losses by his enterprize, and restore him whence they had brought him. Of which defire they were not content. Mean while captain JAMES STUART of Cardonnock brought thirty thousand crowns from the French king, for furthering of the earl of Lenox his affairs. queen and cardinal had no will that he should pass out of Scotland, but to keep him still as an awe-band above the governor's head; and therefore they put him off with fair promises: Wherewith, at length, being irritate, herefolved to be avenged of their diffimulation; and, returning home, he follicited the earl of Angus, the earl of Glencairn, and the whole Cuninghams, the laird of Tillibardin, with the whole Murrays, with the name of Stuart, and all his own kinfmen and friends, to the number of twelve thousand men; and came boldly to Edinburgh where the cardinal and governor were, and encamped betwixt Leith and Edinburgh, provoking them to battle, or elfe to keep promife. The cardinal knowing him to be a skilled warriour, and that he had many valiant men in his company, kept himself quiet; and by mediators, practised so cunningly with the earl of Angus, that he was moved to deal with Lenox to skale his army, and to expect that the queen and cardinal would give him full fatisfaction; and having awaited three or four days, and feeing no appearance of battle, although he was difcontent with the motion, yet was conftrained to hearken to the earl of Angus's counsel. Thereafters perceiving himfelf to be deluded on all hands, and fecret plots contrived against him, hearing that there was a hip landed at Dumbarton from France, with thirty thousand crowns, directed to him, to be distributed by the advice of the queen and cardinal, he intercepted the same, and furnished the castle of Glasgow with Hereat the queen and cardinal. men and munition. being highly displeased, persuaded the governor to raise an army, and beliege the castle of Glasgow, where they thought to find the earl of Lenox.

The eighth day of March, one thousand five hundred and forty four, the governor came to Glasgow with twelve thousand men, bringing fundry cannons, and other artillery, from Edinburgh. The fiege lasted ten days, till all their powder and bullets were spent: Therefore they practifed with the keepers of the caftle to yield it, promising great rewards to them, and all who were with them. The keepers were JOHN STU-ART and WILLIAM, being fons to the abbot Dryburgh; who knowing of no relief, were glad of the offer, and yielded the castle to the governor. Notwithstanding, the two brethren foresaid were imprisoned during the governor's pleasure; and all the rest were immediately hanged. The earl himself, being summoned, was put to the horn for non-compearance, and thereafter forfaulted. So that he, feeing no refuge in Scotland, and hearing that the French king, being possessed by the calumnies of his unfriends, was alienated nated from him, shortly thereafter he ritired into England, where he was kindly entertained by king HENRY; who gave him in marriage the lady MAR. GARET DOUGLAS, begotten upon his sister queen MARGARET by ARCHIBALD earl of Angus.

In the next parliament, the earl's whole vaffals and followers were forfaulted; for whose compositions the governor obtained great fums of money; howbeit, he lost their hearts for his extreme rigour. The cardinal also so misled the governor, that no peace could be bound up with England, neither durst any of the barons give any free or profitable counsel in the public affairs; yea, not fo much as come to court, for their own affairs, without the cardinal's affurance. The Englishmen, knowing this, entered in, both by the east and west marches, and utterly spoiled and destroyed all before them, with great flaughter of the inhabitants. So that many were forced to wear the red cross, and swear allegiance to England. This continued all the summer, till winter came on; at which time, having destroyed Teviotdale and Merse, they took the abbey of Coldingham, and laid all waste as far as Dunbar.

The governor, being hereby forced to enterprize fomething, made proclamations for all men to come, provided with eight days victuals, to attend the governor. So, affembling about twelve thousand men, he passed to Coldingham, having with him the earls of Angus and Bothwel, the lords Erskin, Drummond and Gray, with many other nobles: But the weather being extreme cold in the winter season, and the army standing all night on soot in battle array, battering the house with their cannon, without effecting any thing; and a rumour being spread about the break of day,

that the English army was coming at hand to the rescue; the governor, being jealous of many of the noblemen about him, and fearing to be delivered by them into the hands of the English, posted back to Dunbar, leaving the queen's ordnance to the danger of the enemy; fo that fome gave counsel to leave them, others to break them, that they might be unprofitable to the English. But the earl of Angus, feeing the hoft disbanding, faid, " God forbid that I " should either break the queen's cannon, or leave "them to the enemy, fo long as I may breathe; and " here I vow to God, that either I shall restore them " home in fafety, or else die in their defence." Herewith alighting on foot, with his brother and friends, he went forward in order of battle, and convoyed the artillery safely to Dunbar; for the English, who came falt forward to encounter the Scots in their retreat. feeing the earl of Angus return in fo good order, and knowing his valour and resolution, durst attempt nothing. Hereby the earl of Angus purchased great honour.

The Englishmen, with Sir RALPH IVERS and Sir BRYAN LATOUN, general and lieutenant of their army, grew so proud of the victory, that they, accounting the whole lands of Scotland by south Edinburgh to be now sully conquered, passed to the court to be rewarded for so great service. King HARRY, by the persuasion of the duke of Norsolk, condescended to them, that, seeing they had conquered The Merse and Teviotdale, being two most populous and fertile countries in these quarters of Britain, and had brought all the people and inhabitants to the English obedience (although that conquest had stood the king above thirty thousand pounds sterling) yet he would

Land, give to these two noblemen these two sherissdoms, with the countries adjacent, erected in two lordships:

"For (said the Duke) if indeed they have sully con
"queted these countries, and brought them under

"your obedience, they are worthy of so great a re
"ward; and besides, all men shall hereby see how

"great respect your majesty hath to valiant spirits;

"and hereby ye shall oblige these two noblemen to

"defend these lands by all means possible." The

king moreover gave them three thousand men, upon
his own charges, for year and day, to assist them in
possession of their conquest, beside borderers, who

would join with them.

These two captains, being glad of their good success, hasted them to come and take seisin of their new conquest; and, upon the eighth day of March, they came to Jedburgh, with an army of five thousand men, purposing to take seisin of The Merse and Teviotdale; thereafter to come to Haddington, and to Edinburgh,

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The earl of Angus, seeing no order taken for resistance, came to the governor, and sharply reproved him, that he, using the only counsel of the cardinal and priests, suffered the enemy to prevail so far. "If ye continue thus, said he, you will be shortly thrust out of all Scotland, or else forced to submit yoursels as tributary to England. Whereas, if you would follow the counsel of the nobility, we might be able to defend our own, and do the English one ill turn for another; and albeit you should lie aside, yet in here avow to spend my life in the quarrel; and, if they come to take seisin in my lands, I shall bear them witness to it, and perhaps write them an infiltrument

"frument with sharp pens and red ink. And where"as now, being misguided by the evil counsel of the
"cardinal and kirkmen, you are in suspicion of me
"and other of the nobility; yet, if you will follow
"our counsel at this time, we shall, God willing,
"shew your grace a real demonstration of the con"trary, and take a part ourselves in our own con"clusions: Whereas your kirkmen, when they
have brought great trouble on the realm, were ne"ver present at the off-putting thereof. Go on there"fore resolutely, and I shall adventure before you in
"all hazards; for I had rather die with honour in the
"desence of my country and heritage, than live to
"see the same brought to bondage."

The governor, animated with these speeches, by the earl's advice, resolved to go forward against the enemy with the small forces which were about them (the earl and he both not exceeding three hundred horse in company) and sent proclamations to all the nobility and gentry, that were near, to follow him.

The enemies were come that same night to Jedburgh, as we have said; and hearing that the governor was coming to lodge in Melross with so small a company, they thought all was their own, and came forward, in the night, to intrap the governor in his lodging; yet he, being advertised, retired back above the bridge of Melross, to a place called The Shiels, and lodged there, by the advice of the earl of Angus, and sent forth trumpets to advertise the neighbour gentlemen to meet the governor at Gallasheels in all haste. The enemy, missing the governor, spoiled Melross, and returned towards Jedburgh. Mean time Norman Lesly, master of Rothes, and the lord Lindsy's servants, and the neighbour barons; the laird of

Lochlevin alfo, and the gentlemen of the west end of Fife, to the number of twelve score able men, having ridden all that night, met the governor at Gathenfide. foreanent Melross; whereof he was very glad: feeing the Englithmen tarrying a little at .Libberton's cross to view the Scottish-mens array, and understand their intent; the Scots marched fouth-west from Melrofs, round about Ancram, pretending as if they minded not to meddle with the English; who, marching towards Jedburgh, flayed long at the Sandy-cafeway, it being fo narrow that they could not march but two a-front. Meanwhile the laird of Buccleugh came posting to the governor, shewing him that his whole followers were coming, with all speed, within fix miles, He counselled the governor to send back all the hosse to a hill where the artillery stood, and to draw themselves into a low place, out of the Englishmens fight; whereby the Englishmen would be persuaded that they were fled, and would follow them without order: Which fell out accordingly. For the Englishmen, believing that the Scots fled, purfued them fo fast, that they were all out of breath. The first battle, led by Sir BRYAN LATOUN and Sir ROBERT BOWIS, had, in the midst of the battle, a thousand spears; and, on their right wing, five hundred hagbutters, and on their left, five hundred bows. Sir RALPH IVERS led the great battle, containing a thousand spears, a thousand hagbutters, and as many bows. The Scots, at the beginning, had only three hundred men with the governor, and two hundred with the earl of Angus. The English hasted them to preveen the flight of the Scots, thinking, by one encounter, to put an end to the war. But they, lighting on the ambush of the Scots, all wearied, and out of breath, albeit they were discouraged,

discouraged, yet, contemning the sewness of their number, fet upon them. The Scots had providently gotten the advantage both of the wind and fun (being both in the fouth-west) fo that the sun-beams and smoke of the powder took all fight from the English . belides, the Scottish-mens spears were an ell longer than the English; whereby the English were born down before they could reach at the Scots; who, encountring them most violently, beat back the vanguard upon the great battle; and fo, difordering both, put them to flight, killing their two leaders, Sir RALPH IVERS and Sir BRYAN LATOUN, and a great number of gentlemen and common foldiers, to the number of five hundred; with the loss of two Scottish-men, flain rakelesly by their own artillery. There were taken a thousand, whereof eighty were gentlemen. The governor, at night, returning to his standard, kneeled down, and gave solemn thanks to God for the unexpected victory; the like whereof hath scarcely been read of, that so small a number difcomfited fo great a host, and fo well appointed. The chief of the captives were, Mr. Ho ward the queen's uncle, Mr. HUTCHISON mayor of York, the lord Bowls, Sir JOHN WITHRINGTON, many of the HERONS and SELLIES, and other gentlemen of the borders, and knights of great effeem. This battle was foughten in Teviotdale, at Ancram-muir, the ninth of March, one thousand five hundred and forty-five.

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After the battle, the governor calling for the earl of Angus, highly commended his valour, resolution and wisdom; and thanked Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS, his brother, for his valiant service, assuring them, that that day's service had cleared them of all aspersions of disloyalty, and love to England, laid upon them by

their enemies. He thanked the laird of Buccleugh also for his wife and fortunate counsel. He gave thanks also to the master of Rothes, the laird of Lochlevin, and the rest of all the gentlemen of quality, acknowleging their honourable defervings, to their perpetual praise. Thereafter they rode altogether towards Jedburgh; and finding on the fields the dead bodies of Sir RALPH IVERS, and Sir BRYAN LA-TOUN, he commanded them to be buried, or their corps to be given to their friends, faying, " Their " taking of feifin has been no less unfortunate than " unformal." They supped that night in Jedburgh, upon the provision that had been made for the Englishmen; and, the next day, caused a herald to proclaim, that all the lands of Scotland, which had been conquered by king HARRY, were now redeemed by the help of God: And therefore, that all that had been forced to take on the Red Crofs, as subjects to England, should now renounce the same, and return to their due allegiance to the crown of Scotland, and have a remission for all bygone. Some counselled the governor to ride forward to Wark and Norham, which were forfaken by the Englishmen for fear : But, in regard of the small number, and want of artillery, he returned to Edinburgh.

King HARRY, hearing of this discomfiture, was highly discontent; but he was encouraged by the duke of Norfolk putting him in mind of the variable success of battles, according to God's providence; that, as the Scots had gotten the better now, so the next (as oft-times before) should fall to them; that there were men enough to the fore in England. Hereby the king being confirmed, without any fear of the Scots, past forward to France to have his pension.

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There was an embassador, at this time, sent from Scotland to France, to shew the king what had befallen, and to crave supply from him against the king of England, whom they expected to come in revenge of this overthrow. This embassador had also commission to accuse the earl of Lenox, that he had broken the king's direction; especially in the distribution of the money which the king had sent, and to lay many other salse accusations to his charge, to make him odious to the French king.

The king of France, informed of the king of England's enterprize against him, sent, notwithstanding, Monsieur Mongomery de Lorge, with a hundred men at arms, and three thousand footmen, to confirm the Scottish-men, and to raise an army in Scotland, to draw back the English king out of France, and to try the cause of the earl of Lenox his banishment. landed in Scotland the ninth day of July, in the year foresaid; and, shewing his setters to the council and governor, procured an army of the best of the nobility and gentry, to be hastily levied, to the number of fifteen thousand men; who, convening at Haddington, joined with the French, and past forward to Bargany. haugh, over-against Wark, where they encamped the fpace of ten days, and fending forth, every day, a part of the hoft, they wasted and spoiled all within six miles. The Frenchmen and my lord Hume dealt earnestly with the governor to pass over Tweed, and befiege Wark; but he refused, in respect he was deflitute of great artillery, and other necessaries for a So the army disbanded the twelfth day of August, one thousand five hundred and forty five. Some of the Frenchmen flayed in Edinburgh, fome were fent to St. Andrews to winter.

Monfieur de Lorge went to Stirling to be informed anent the earl of Lenox his banishment : and, having received clear information of all things by fuch as knew the matter perfectly, he sharply reproved the cardinal, that, contrary his promises whereby he allured that young nobleman to leave France, where he lived in great credit, he had mocked and disappointed him, Hereupon the cardinal, enraged, after hot words, gave Monsieur de Lorge a lie before the queen's presence; who immediately returned the cardinal a box on the ear; and, if other men had not parted them, he had presently stabbed him, called him False Whore's Son Priest, who had made the French king to spend his money in vain; and, by his false delations, had put the earl out of his favour. And albeit the queen entreated the cardinal to give place for a time, till he might reconcile the matter; yet Monsieur de Lorge would never confent thereto, nor would come in the town or palace where the cardinal was. But diverse of his men were kindly entreated and propined with borfes and bawks in St. Andrews, till much of the winter was paft, at what time he returned home with them to France.

The cardinal, perceiving his favour with the queen and governor to be diminished, and the earl of Angus to be highly advanced for his valour, and wisdom, he set his intent to bind the governor to his opinion, and procured his eldest son, as also my lord Ruthven, and sundry other gentlemen their sons to be given him to be kept at St. Andrews, as hostages and pledges, that the governor should be ruled by the cardinal in all affairs of the state. To this effect, he invited him to St. Andrews to Yule, where he entertained him most sumptuously the space of twenty days. After which

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he held a council with the clergy, in the Black-friers at Edinburgh, the twenty fixth of January, one thou-fand five hundred forty-fix, for establishing the antient liberty of the kirk, and reformation of some notorious faults of the clergy.

These purposes taking small effect, they were informed that Mr. GEORGE WISHEART, a preacher of the Gospel, was in the laird of Ormistoun's house, within feven miles to Edinburgh. They, having a special malice against him, fent to apprehend him. But the laird of Ormistoun made many shifts and delays to get him convoyed away fafe. The cardinal, informed hereof, forced the governor against his will, to ride forth with him about midnight, and closed the house round about. The laird, notwithstanding, refused to deliver him, till the earl of Bothwel came and was cautioner, upon his faith and honour, to keep him skaithless. Nevertheless, this facile earl was entired by the cardinal to render him into his hands; who carried him to St. Andrews, and imprisoned him in the fea-tower. But, from that time forth, the earl Bothwel prospered never, neither any of his affairs.

In the end of February, the queen, governor, cardinal and lords, held a convention in St. Johnston. There they caused hang sour honest men for eating of a goose on friday; and drowned a young woman, because she resused to pray to our lady in her birth. These sentences being pronounced by the earl of Argyle, justice-general, at the cardinal's instigation, from that day to his death, he was ever diseased, both in body and spirit.

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God's fervants; but he escaped, through the great confluence of people, and specially the barons of Fife. At his return to St. Andrews, he convocate an affem. bly of the clergy for condemning Mr. GEORGE WISHEART of herefy; and fent to the governor. for a commission and judge-criminal to sit upon him. When this message came to the governor, and he had almost consented thereto, Sir DAVID HAMILTON of Prestoun began to disfuade him, saying, " I maror vel, Sir, for what reason you thus consent to the " murder of the preachers of Christ's Evangel, where-" of you have been a professor yourself; yea, seeing " you yourfelf have commanded and defired all men " to read and exercise the Old and New Testaments. which is the only dittay against Mr. GEORGE " WISHEART. You are now, by the grace of God, advanced to the place of a king in Scotland; you " ought therefore to honour God who hath honoured " you, by procuring a free passage to his word " through this realm; which, if you neglect, trust not " to have fo good fuccess in your affairs as before " you have found. Remember how God rent the " kingdom from Saul, and gave it to David, for his " disobedience."

By this friendly admonition the governor being moved, wrote to the cardinal to continue the accusation of Mr. GEORGE, till he spake with him; which if he did not, his blood be upon his own head; for he would not consent to his condemnation.

The cardinal, inflamed with this answer, hastned the more to the execution of his purpose. He being therefore brought out of the castle, to the abbey-kirk to be examined and accused, the sub-prior, dean JOHN WINRAM doctor in divinity, made a sermon

apon the thirteenth chapter of Matthew, discoursing of the definition, causes and remedies of herefy very orthodoxally. After Sermon, Mr. GEORGE WIS-HEART was fet up in the pulpit, and over against him was fet Mr. JOHN LAWDER, with a long roll full of maledictions and forged articles of dittay, which he read against Mr. GEORGE, uttering withal most bitter and despiteful railings and threatnings. To the which accusation in general, and to every particular article, he answered very modestly, and withal very pithily. Notwithstanding, the cardinal and prelates incontinent condemned him of herefy, and adjudged him to be burnt. Thereafter, he being led back to the castle till the fire should be prepared, the next morning the cardinal fent some priests and friers to whom he should make his confession. He answered. " That he had nothing to do with them; but if the " godly man, who had made the fermon the day be-" fore, would come to him, he would open his mind " to him." Hercupon, the fub-prior being fent to him, and acknowleging his innocency, after many tears, and fome conference, he required if Mr. GEORGE would have his facrament, "Yea, gladly, (faid he) " if I might have it as Christ instituted it." Then the sub-prior returned to the bishops, and shewed them that he had conferred with Mr. GEORGE, who had taken it upon his foul that he was innocent of all that was laid to his charge, and that he should die guiltless thereof. The cardinal, commoved herewith. answered, "Well, Sir, and you, we know what a " man you are seven years ago." The sub-prior asked, if they would consent that Mr. GEORGE hould have the facrament. The bishops, after confultation, concluded, that, fince he was condemned as a heretick, P 5

a heretick, he should have no benefit of the kirk. With this answer the fub-prior returned to Mr. GEORGE: and, having promifed to pray each one for the other. they parted with shedding of tears. Meantime, the captain and the gentlemen who were with him, being to dine, asked if Mr. GEORGE would eat with them. He answered, "With a good will, and more gladly than ever heretofore, because I perceive ye are good " men and godly; and that this shall be my last meat " on earth : But I exhort you, that ye would give me audience, with filence, for a little time, while " I bless this meat, which we shall eat as brethren in " Christ; and thereafter I will take my leave of you." So, the table being covered, and bread fet thereupon, Mr. GEORGE discoursed half an hour of Christ's last fupper, death and passion; exhorting them to leave malice and envy, and to fix love and charity in their hearts one towards another, as the members of Christ. Thereafter he bleffed the bread and drink, and ate and drank himself, and defired the rest to do so; for they should drink no more with him; for he was to talte a bitter cup, and that only for the preaching of the gofpel, and zeal to the glory of God: " But (faid he) or pray ye for me, and I for you, that our meeting " may be in the joys of heaven, with our father, " fince there is nothing in earth but anxiety and for-" row." Having thus faid, he gave thanks to God, and retired to his devotion.

Meantime the artillery of the castle was charged, and laid to the wall-heads, and cushions and green cloths spread thereon, for the cardinal and bishops to fit upon; and all the gentlemen commanded to fland about the scaffold in armour. Daring this mean time, Mr. GEORGE was discoursing to the captain of fundry fore-tokens

fore-tokens of things to come, which he had feerl-" For there appeared, faid he, in the north-east, a great " fire upon the fea, which, moving to and fro, at " length came upon the city of St. Andrews, and, " lighting upon the castle, brake asunder; which he " thought, did portend the wrath of God to feize " fhortly, not only on that wicked man who was lord " of that castle, but also upon the city." He saw also a great mifty and fmoky cloud arife in the fouth-east, and move forward till it came just above Dunpenderlaw, beside Haddington; and, having stayed there for a quarter of an hour, it divided it felf fo, that the one part stood right above Haddington; the other half moved north-west, till it came above the kirk of Inverafk, and there appeared like blood descending out of the firmamente which, he faid, in his judgment, portended, that there should be a council holden upon Dunpenderlaw, which should occasion much trouble to Scotland, and procure much bloodshed, especially a great wrack to the town of Haddington; and all by the occasion of that wicked man, who stopt the peace betwixt Scotland and England; which he prayed the Lord to forgive him.

As he was discoursing these things, the officers and tormentors brought him forth to the sire, which was prepared without the castle-gate against the west Block-house, where the bishops might lie on the wall-heads, and see this facrifice. He, being then bound on the scaffold with iron-chains, made his prayer to Almighty God for his afflicted church, in danger to be devoured by ravening wolves; notwithstanding, God, according to his promise, would, in his own time, consound all the enemies thereof. With this, having recommended his spirit to God, the tormentors applied the fire to the powder, which kindled most hideously; and, withal, there

came fo vehement a blaft of wind from the fea, and fo great a cloud of rain brake from the fky, that the noise put all men in great fear. It was fo forcible, that it blew down the stone walls, and them that sat thereon. to the number of two hundred persons, which fell about the draw-well, in the bishop's yard, and diverse sell into it, whereof two were drowned immediately. The captain exhorting Mr. GEORGE to remember of God, he answered stoutly, notwithstanding of the fire, and faid, moreover, " Captain, God forgive that man, " that thus persecutes God's servants; within few days he shall lie as shamefully, on that same place, " as now he lies glorious." When he was now burnt all beneath the middle, they defired him to remember on God, and make a fign thereof. Which he did, leaping up a foot high in the fire, to the great joy of all those that favoured God's word. But the clergy discharged all men, under the pain of cursing, to pray for him, as being a heretick. This martyrdom was committed the first of March, one thousand five hundred and forty-fix; whereof the clergy was highly puffed up with pride and infolence, which shortly turned to mischief. The cardinal and archbishop, who before had been at enmity, were that day reconciled.

The cardinal, immediately thereafter, past to Arbroth, where he married his daughter on the master of Crawford, with great solemnity. At his return to St. Andrews, being informed that there was a navy prepared in England to destroy the coast of Scotland, especially of Fise; for, providing remedy hereof, he sent for all the gentlemen and barons of Fise, especially my lords Rothes and Lindsay, the lairds of Wemys, Lochlevin, Lundie, Largo, Allardes and St. Ninians, charging them, against an appointed day,

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day, to be ready to ride with him and visit the coast. for providing fortifications for refistance of the English. But, in the mean time, NORMAN LESLY came to him for certain businesses; upon the which they fell in altercation of words, both uncharitable and unchriflian. NORMAN, departing to his lodging, returned the fixth of May. In the morning, betwixt four and five hours, he with his complices came to the castlegate, and, griping the porter in hands, feized upon the place. PETER CARMICHAEL past up to the east Block-house-chamber, where the cardinal lay who, being let in, stabbed him immediately. cry running through the city, his friends came rushing forward to ladder the walls and rescue him, thinking that he was alive. They that were within, to affure them of the contrary, shewed his dead body to the people upon the wall; where, when it was lying, one called GUTHRY pissed in his mouth. At this fight many remembred the prophecy of Mr. WISHEART. which had foretold this long before.

The governor and queen were highly commoved hereat; therefore they caused summon the doers of this sact, to compear within six days to underly the law; and, upon their disobeyance, denounced them to the horn. Whereupon these, who thought themselves accessory to the slaughter, entered into the castle, and fortissed the same; viz. The lairds of Grange and Pitmillie, Mr. Henry Primrose (Balnaves) the old parson George Lesly, Sir John Auchinleck, and these who had been in the castle at the first. Many also who had nothing to do with the slaughter, but seared the governor and queen's ill-will. These men, consident of the strength of the place, resused to obey the authority.

authority, and contemptuously rejected all offers of appointment to be made with them; and sent messengers to England for support.

By this time winter approached; and the governor, being daily called upon by the queen and court, at length resolved to siege the castle; and brought thither an army, with two great cannons, Crook-mow and Deaf-meg, But, after three months siege, the pest arising in the town, he was constrained to leave his purpose without effect. Hereby these that were in the castle became exceeding insolent, and oppressed all the country about, with spoiling of goods and ravishing of women, notwithstanding of the manifold admonitions of sundry godly men who were with them, and foretold them of that which came to pass thereafter.

In the west borders the Englishmen had taken many of the strengths that were in my lord Maxwel's bounds, and had utterly wasted the country; wherefore Robert Henry, lord Maxwel, came to Edinburgh, to the queen and governor, to entreat for supply. Hereupon the governor assembled an army at Peebles, the twentieth day of July, one thousand sive hundred and forty-seven; with whom he past forward to Meggetland; where, besides Guddiescleugh, the lords senced a justice-court in the queen's name and the governor's, and accused the earl of Rothes for the slaughter of the cardinal; who compearing personally, the matter was put to the cognition of an assize of sifteen, all lords, by whom he was absolved.

The host past forward to Langhope castle, and took it by three days siege, and brought home the captains thereof prisoners to Edinburgh; where the governor was informed, that the French navy, being six gallies,

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and two great ships, were descried at St. Ebbe's Head. failing for St. Andrews. The governor, well content hereof, halted him to St. Andrews, with the gentlemen of Fife, Angus and Strathern, and welcomed the French captain, prior of Capua, directed from the French king to beliege the castle, and to bring the keepers of it prisoners to him. They clapt about the house so hastily and unexpectedly, that many were closed out. and divers were closed in against their will. Then they mounted their ordnance, both upon the college. fleeple, and also upon the walls of the abbey-kirk, wherewith they condemned the castle close; so that no man durst walk therein, or go up to the wall-head. The captain told the governor, that they had been unexpert warriors, who had not mounted their ordnance on the steeple heads in that manner; and that he wondred of the keepers of the castle, that they had not first broken down the heads of the steeples. He caused also the great battery to be laid to the castle, the two Scottish cannons, and fix French: And, to prevene flaughter, he devised, that the cannons should pass down the streets by ingines, without any man with them; which thing, when the Italian ingineer, which had been fent from England for the Support of these within the castle, perceived, he said, that now they had to do with men of war, and therefore had need to take heed to themselves. They answered, that they should defend their castle against Scotland, France and Ireland, all three. But the battery, within few hours, made fuch breaches in the walls, that, despairing of their strength, after consultation, they yielded the castle and themselves to the king of France. The French captain entered and spoiled the castle very rigorously; wherein they found great store of vivers, clothes

clothes, armour, filver and plate, which, with the eaptives, they carried away in their gallies. The governor, by advice of the council, demolished the castle, lest it should be a receptacle for rebels. This befel in the year one thousand five hundred and forty seven, in the month of August.

At this time the governor was advertised of the coming of the English army, directed against Scotland for to seek performance of the condition of marriage between the young queen of Scotland, and their young king EDWARD VI. wherefore he sent proclamations through all Scotland and the isles, to all manner of man betwixt sixty and sixteen, spiritual and temporal, the father as well as the son, to compear at Edinburgh, in their best array, with a month's

victuals, to pass with the governor, for the desence of the realm, against the English.

The Scottish army accordingly assembled upon the west side of Esk, above Musselburgh, and were mustered to the number of forty thousand men, whereof ten thousand were in the vanguard under the earl of Angus; other ten thousand were in the rear, with the earl of Huntley. The governor himself commanded the stell or battle, wherein were twenty thousand men, consisting of the gentlemen of Lothian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, Stirling-shire, and the whole boroughs; the earl of Argyle and west Highlandmen were in his right wing, and in the left Macleod, Macgregor, and the isles men.

The Englishmen had been now four nights in Scotland, and were encamped betwixt Prestoun and Tranent. They, seeing the Scottish army of so great number, and so well appointed, were very loth to hazard the battle: And therefore sent embassadors to the go-

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veruor, with very courteous demands, entreating the governor, the queen and council of Scotland, as Christians, to keep their promised condition of peace and marriage, accorded upon betwixt their late king HARRY and them, under the great seals of both the kingdoms.

The governor having rejected this demand, the proteftor of England, confidering what great bloodshed, and other inconveniencies should follow, if the two armies should join in battle; therefore fent again the next morn to the governor and council, intreating, that if they would not fulfil the contract of peace and marriage, for the present; yet they should keep the young queen still in Scotland, under the government of her own lords, and not deliver her to any foreign nation in hope of marriage; neither yet contract her with France, nor any other realm, for the space of ten years, while she might be of lawful age to chuse a husband to herfelf, by the advice of the nobility; and, in the mean time, peace and rest to be kept within the two realms; which, if the governor would condition, he promifed, that whatever skaith they had done in Scotland at that journey, he should cause recompence to be made thereof incontinent.

These letters coming to the governor, he revealed the same only to his brother John, archbishop of St. Andrews, George Dun, abbot of Dumsermling, Archibald Beaton, and Mr. Hugh Rigg of Carbary; by whose advice he concealed the protector's letters and reasonable offers from the nobility, for sear less they had embraced them; and caused a rumour be spread through the camp, that the protector of England had brought an army into Scotland to carry away the young queen persone, and to conquer the tealm.

The Englishmen, being loth to give occasion of so great bloodshed as was to follow, if they joined battle, concluded to return home peaceably, without doing any harm to the realm of Scotland; especially seeing they were destitute of victuals of their own, and could not be able to purchase any in Scotland.

This report coming to the governor and his coun. eil, made them very proud, ; fo that, by their stubborn infolence that day, and not by the manhood of England, great mischief besel to the army and commonwealth of Scotland: For the governor incontinent fent the heralds through the army, charging all men to pass forward in order of battle. The earl of Angus, knowing that the English army could not stay in the place for want of victuals, marched at great leifure, refolving to fet upon them in the flight. Whereupon the governor fent the lyon-herald again, commanding him, under the pain of treason, to march forward with speed. Which charge he obeyed, and past over the water of Esk, and stood by-west the kirk, till the governor and the whole host came forward. The protector of England feeing this, by the advice of the earl of Warwick, commanded the lord Gray of England, captain of the great horsemen, to pass forward on my lord Angus, and charge his battle with the barded horse and demi-lances; fearing his battle most of all, as whom they knew to be a valiant warrior; and therefore they commanded my lord Gray to hold him off till the footmen of England should be retired out of danger. The earl of Angus, seeing the lord Gray come against him, with three thousand demilances, caused his men receive the encounter resolutely at closs order, pitching their spears in the ground, and holding them fast like a bulwark against the: the enemy; so that their spears being longer than the Englishmens, at the first shock they rushed to the ground the number of two hundred both horse and men; the rest sled back, and shewed the protector, that it was as impossible to break the Scottish vanguard where they stood, as if they were a stone-wall.

The protector was so discouraged with this report, that he was resolved to see; and desired one of the chief of the borderers to convoy him the safest way. But the earl of Warwick sound great sault with this purpose, saying, that he marvelled of the protector's lack of courage in so dangerous a time, who had shown himself wise and forward in all times bygone: "But I vow (said he) if you shall shee away and abandon the king of England's army and cannon, I shall ap peal you before the council of England as a salse traitor and coward, who would lose so many wor thy sootmen as are here, to be overtroden by the "Scots: But, for my part, I vow to alight on soot, and abide with them, for any thing that I have "seen as yet."

At this time the earl of Angus's battle was coming forward, and had beaten down fundry of the lord Gray's great horsemen, and had left them behind them; which the Argyle-men perceiving, they broke away and run to the spoil. By this the Englishmen were returning back, when one in the governor's battle, seeing the Argylemen out of array, cried, Fy, fy, treason. The master of the Scottish ordnance also, discharging a field-piece, killed therewith the master of the English ordnance, and broke the axel-tree and wheels of the cannon which he was going to shoot. The Highlandmen hearing the noise hereof, and a great dust arising out of the fallow-earth and red land, through

through which they were marching, so that none could see another, they brake order and began to see. The boroughs seeing that, sled also. A very strange accident, for the English and Scots were sleeing both at an instant.

The protector and earl of Warwick, feeing the great battle of Scots retiring back, at the first, believed it to be a train to draw them in an ambush, because they faw the other battles standing still in order : But so foon as they perceived them to cast away their weapons and armour, then they cried out, " All is our own, the " Scots are fleeing;" and, founding their trumpets, came forward together upon the earl of Angus's battle : who, feeing fo great a number unexpectedly coming upon them, returned toward the earl of Huntley's battle, to have help of them. At this time there fell fo great a rain, and fo thick a mist, that none could know another; fo that the earl of Huntley's men believed the vanguard to be the enemy, and therefore refifted them, fo that divers were flain. But the Scots, having cast away their armour, were not able to resilt the English, who made the onset very furiously both with horse and foot: So that there were slain of the Scots to the number of ten thousand men, most part of whom were lords, barons, gentlemen, and honest burgeffes, with many kirkmen. Many also were drowned in the water of Esk in their inconsiderate flight. Amongst the rest were sain the lord Fleming, the mafter of Erskin, the master of Graham, the master of Livingston, the master of Ogilvy, the master of Buchan, with many other lords and great barons. Of Englishmen were sain twelve-score of horfemen by the earl of Angus, among whom was the lord Gray of England, and his eldest son. Many were taken pri-Coners.

foners, whereof fome were had in England, and some were ransomed in Scotland. This unhappy battle was foughten the eighteenth day of September, one thousand five hundred and fortyfeven; wherein, through the wilful misgovernment of the governor and his privy council, there befel great mifery to the kingdom of Scotland, against the mind of the nobility, and that in God's just judgment, that these, who refused peace, should fall in confusion, through unjust war, and breach of covenant: For, after this time, the governor never received his former reputation, till, at length, he was put by his place and authority. The queenmother, albeit she was fore grieved at the slaughter of so many noblemen; yet she was not evil content of the governor's loss of reputation, and foresaw an occasion to fend her daughter to France, as shortly befel.

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The English army came forward to Leith, and remained there a while, every day passing forth and so-raging the country, taking some houses, and carrying away many captives, there being none to make resistance. The same month the governor and queen held a council in Stirling; wherein it was resolved to send the young queen to France, for sear of the Englishmen (which they needed not to be assaid of) and dispatched an embassador to France, shewing the king the estate of their affairs, and desiring support against England, promising withal to send their young queen so soon as time could serve. The French were glad of the offer; yet they were slow in sending supply to Scotland.

Meanwhile the English fortified Haddington, and put a strong garrison in it; which they kept three years.

years. They fortified also Inchkeith and Broughty. and built a great strength near to Broughty, upon Bol. oillow-law; and infelted the country fo, that, fix iniles about them, there was no land laboured but it paid duty to them. The garrison of Had dington also wasted all the country ten miles about the town. Their ships also lay all that year in Taymouth, betwixt Broughty and Dundee; fo that the gentlemen of Fife were constrained to watch and ward continually, for fafety of their goods. At length, the gentlemen of the country, being alvertised that the English had compacted with fundry Scots, to land, by their conduct, at the East-Ferry, and to burn the same, and Luchers, with the country adjacent, and to be conducted by them fafely back to their ships; lord JAMES prior of St. Andrews, GEORGE earl of Rothes, JOHN lord Lindfay, ANDREW WOOD of Largo, and divers other gentlemen, with the provost and burgesses of St. Andrews, came secretly at the break of day, and lay in ambush near to Partincrag, till the English were landed, and begun to forage the country. Then they broke forth betwixt them and their ships, and slew to the number of eightscore of their belt men of war and mariners; of whom they had great missing thereafter in guiding of their thips; fo that they had no great defire thereafter to land in Fife.

About the end of the year the governor belieged the fort of Broughty, for three months space; but came no speed; whereof some lay the blame upon the treason of his gunners corrupted by the English.

The siege being raised, these of the fort became exceeding insolent, and spoiled and burnt the country at their pleasure; and, among the rest, the town of Bundee, Dundee, and the castle of Wester-Pury, with the villages adjacent. The garrison of Inch-Keith also spoiled Leith and Kinghorn, and infelted all that part of the coast; so that the queen and governor began to fear worse to follow: And therefore called the privy council to determine anent the fending away of the young queen to France. Many of the nobility voted against that resolution, as highly prejudicial to the realm and liberty of Scotland, which hereby should become a province to France; and, beside that, should continually have fore wars with England. But the greater part, fearing that they should not be able to recover the realm out of the Englishmens hands; and many having a blind love to France; others being bribed by gifts and promifes from France: It was determinate, that the young queen should be fent away to France. She shipped, at the west seas, in April. one thousand five hundred and forty-eight; the lord JAMES her brother, the lord Erskin, with fundry barons and gentlemen being in her company.

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At this time the French army landed in Leith, to the number of fix thousand men, viz. a thousand horsemen and men at arms, and five thousand footmen; of the which there were three thousand Dutchmen, under the commandment of the Ringrave. Monsieur d' Esse was commander of this army; which did little good in Scotland, but spent the king of France's money. They remained in Edinburgh a certain time after their landing, which was in May, in the year foresaid; while word came of the approach of the English army, to the number of forty thousand men, conducted by the earl of Hereford, who avowed, before king EDWARD, to ride as far within Scotland as Pinkie, notwithstanding of the French army.

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The governor and Frenchmen came to Musselburgh to meet them, who were at Fawside above Pinkie. The French and Dutch advancing forward in the vanguard; the English perceiving their good order, and a great army of Scots behind them, they retired in good order toward Haddington. The Frenchmen would not follow them, alledging, that it was not their custom to chase any but those who had sled in field.

These Englishmen had victualled Haddington; and, having thus shewn themselves, came to Aber. lady, and shipped in some of their ablest gentlemen to pass over and spoil the coast of Fife. They came first to Anstruther and Pittenweem, but fearing to land there, these towns being so populous, they came well against St. Ninians, where they landed, thinking to march on foot at Pittenweem, and fortify the same with men and victuals, and to spoil the country. As they were coming to St. Ninians-Muir in arrayed battle, with some artillery brought from their ships, lord TAMES commendator of St. Andrews, the lairds of Wemyss and Largo, with fundry others of the country, when they faw the fires arising, came posting this ther, and joining with the common people who had convened to flop their landing, skirmished so hotly with them, that they chased them back to their ships, and flew a great number of them, befide many that were drowned and taken captives. There died to the number of fix hundred and twelve, and an hundred prifoners taken. This befel in June, in the year foresaid.

About this time the governor and French-men past to Haddington, with the whole army of Scotland, but did no good. The town was well fortified and surnished with all necessaries, and stoutly defended; and, on the other part, it was but slackly pursued by the French, who had now gotten the prey they defired.

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In winter, being returned to Edinburgh, they behaved themselves exceeding infolently. One day the provost of Edinburgh, WILLIAM HAMILTON laird of Stenhouse, who was also captain of the castle, was commanding two Frenchmen to prison, for raising a fray in the town; the Frenchmen, assembling in great numbers, encountred those who were with the provoft, being unarmed, they killed the provost himself, JAMES HAMILTON his fon, DAVID KIRK, DA-VID BARBER, WILLIAM CHAPMAN, Mr. WIL-LIAM STUART, WILLIAM PURVES, and ELI-ZABETH STUART a woman. The French king, being informed of their infolency and mifgovernment, fent in Scotland a noble man of war, named Monfieur de Termes, to command the army. Monsieur d' Essie, who had the charge of the army before, ere he departed, took the fort of Inch-Keith from the English. De Termes also belieged the castle of Broughty, and fortly wan it, and the other fort beside it.

The garrison of Haddington could not be well supplied with victuals; for these who brought it, either in their coming or departure, were pursued, and many of them taken and slain, especially in the day's chase. They received so great damage and slaughter, that on the first of October, one thousand sive hundred and sorty-nine, they burnt the town, and returned home: So that, by the French assistance, Scotland enjoyed peace; especially because the English had civil wars among themselves: For, at this time, the earl of Warwick took the protector, sitting at the counciltable, and carried him to the tower, where he was beheaded: and, not long after, young king EDWARD was pitifully put to death (as is thought) by poison;

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and the earl of Warwick beheaded by queen MARY, who fucceeded to her brother.

During this peace (which lasted five years) the lord Semple slew the lord Sanquhar, WILLIAM CREIGHTON, in the governor's chamber; yet he escaped punishment by means of JOHN HAMILTON bishop of St. Andrews, brother to the governor; who entertained the lady Stenhouse, commonly called lady Gilton, daughter to this ROBERT lord Semple, as his concubine. The governor also, by persuasion of his brother the bishop, held justice airs through all Scotland; in the which, under pretence of justice, most avariciously taking bribes and sines from thieves and honest men indifferently, they lost the hearts of all good men.

At the same time, the laird of Reath, JOHN MEL-VIL, an antient and honourable baron, was taken by the bishop of St. Andrews, and beheaded at Edinburgh, his head fet upon the Tolbooth, and his lands dealt to the governor's friends; for fending of a missive bill in to England, in favour of his friend being captive there. The queen, perceiving that, by these proceedings the governor was become exceeding odious to all the people, thought good to flir her time; and, passing into France with certain of the nobility of Scotland, the obtained of the French king to be made regent of Scotland, instead of the governor, who had so milguided the state, having no respect to the public well, but to his own profit and advancement of his friends. To this effect, the French king appointed Monsieur d' Offel to be his embaffador in Scotland, and to give her advice how to rule the realm, to the king of France's pleasure, and her daughter's profit. He was a man

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a man of fingular good judgment, and great experience, especially in warfare.

At her return, a parliament was holden at Edinburgh, wherein the queen prevailed so far with the nobility, that they consented that she should be made regent of Scotland in the governor's place, whereunto many of the governor's near friends were brought to consent, by great gifts, pensions and promises.

In this parliament the governor rode up, from the Abbey to the Tolbooth, with the lords and heralds, having the crown, fword and fceptre, born before him. The queen, and Monsieur d' Ossel, rode up apart by themselves, and stayed till the parliament was fenced; wherein the governor discharged himself of his authority, and the queen was elected regent; who rode down, having the crown, fword and fceptre, born before her, by the fame lords that had carried them up before the governor; who now rode down as a private nobleman among the rest; many remembring what had been foretold him at the burning of Mr. WISHEART, that if he suffered God's servants to be cruelly persecuted for preaching of the gospel, which before he had professed, the authority should be taken from him, and given to another. The king of France had taken upon him to content the governor for the over-giving of his place; and, befide many gifts beflowed on himself and his friends, created him duke of Chatteleraut.

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The queen, having rewarded the noblemen of her opinion, changed her officers of estate; among the rest Mr. Rubie was made comptroller; who used such rigour in his office, that shortly thereafter he was deposed.

The twenty-eighth day of April, FRANCIS II. then dauphin of France, fon to king HENRY II. married MARY, fole daughter and heir to king JAMES of Scotland, with great pomp and triumph, in the city of Paris.

In the month of December, one thousand five hundred and fifty eight, there was a parliament holden at Dumblane; wherein the French embassador required of the estates of Scotland, that the imperial crown thereof, with the sword and sceptre, should be sent unto France, that the dauphin might be crowned therewith, and proclaimed king of Scotland; and that the scals of Scotland might be broken, and new scals made; wherein the arms of France and Scotland might be quartered, and the money of Scotland thereafter to be stamped therewith; and that it should be lawful for Frenchmen to purchase and enjoy lands in Scotland, and to sail and resort to the coasts thereof at their pleasure; that taxations should be taken up in the name of the dauphin of France and queen of Scotland.

These desires were granted by the estates, by the queen's procurement, to the manifest mischief of the commonwealth, if God had not prevented the same. The duke was not present at the concluding of these acts, but protested to the contrary. The earl of Glencairn also and the whole barons voted to the contrary, alleging, that the crown, sword and sceptre, should not be sent out of Scotland, till they saw succession of the queen's body. The seals were broken and made new; Monsieur d'Cal was made keeper of the palace of Linlithgow: But the crown was delayed, and not sent over at that time.

In the month of April, the same year, WALTER MILL was taken, by Sir HUGH CURRY, priest to

the bishop of St. Andrews and Sir GEORGE STRA-CHAN. The bishop, on the twentieth day of the same month, convened the clergy in the Abbey-kirk of St. Andrews; where frier Maltman preached a sermon far from the meaning of the scripture and spirit of God; which when Walter Mill heard, he sell on his face, and cried out, "Alas! This frier is "not ashamed to lie." Thereafter Mr. Andrew Oliphant accused him of heresy.

" Heretick (faid he) why didft thou pass about " through fundry houses seducing the people to he-" refy; and teaching them charms and enchant-"ments, to hold them from God's fervice? Verily, " brother, (answered he) I held no man from the "kirk; but, contrarywise, exhorted all men to the " fervice of God; and, that they might understand "the work of their falvation, I taught them the "Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and Ten Command-" ments. But, feeing thou art a priest, why hast " thou forfaken the mass? Thou hadft the cure of " the parish of Lunan in Angus, beside Red-castle, " from which thou fledft, and one with thee called " Sir JOHN PETRY, fervant to the lord Innermeath; " and you and he were condemned by my late lord " cardinal of herefy, and ordained to be burnt, where-" ever ye might be apprehended; fo that we need no " further accusation against you-at this time. Bro-" ther, indeed I ferved the cure at Lunan twenty " years, with the approbation, to this day, of all the " parishoners, who never heard me teach erroneous " doctrine, especially my lord Innermeath himself : " But when the furious cardinal persecuted me, and " many more, for the preaching of God's word, I was " constrained to keep myself quiet, and go about ask-

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"ing for God's sake, reproving vices, and instruct" ing people in the grounds of religion; for the which "I am now taken and brought to this place." The bishop said, "Wilt thou burn thy saggot, and thy life "shall be safe?" "That (said he) I will not do, to "confess myself to be a heretick. I am a poor indice dent man, not caring for this world; but affured that my reward is in heaven. I am also of great age, and have not cause to sear death. Do with me as ye think best: But it were better for you to give fomething for the relief of my wise and poor children."

After this, the bishop condemned him of herely, and kept him two days; because they could not get a criminal judge to condemn him to death. Then the bishop sent for the provost of the town, being, for the time, bailie of the regality, and defired him to execute him to death, as being condemned of herefy. " I will, " faid the provoft, do any thing that pertains to my " office, according to justice, at your lordship's com-" mand: But, for the innocent fervants of God, " and preachers of his word, I will not meddle with " them." The bishop said, " Provost, you are bail-" lie of my regality, and ought to judge all fuch " as transgress within my bounds." " Yes (replied " the provolt) and if your lordship please, I will take " him, and give him a fair affize of temporal men, " who perhaps will absolve him." " I am con-" tent (said the bishop) you do so, and make me quit " of him any way you pleafe."

But some wise men, who were friends to the provost, shewed him that it was perilous to absolve a man condemned of heresy by the clergy already. The provost, considering this, desired the bishop to give him

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leifure to advise till the morn; which having obtained, the next day, early in the morning, he departed off the town.

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The bishop, being frustrate in this manner, sought up and down a long time for one to be judge, and could find none; till, at length, he took one of his own court, named ALEXANDER SOMERVEL, 2 man void of all honesty, religion, or fear of God; who fat in judgment and condemned him to the death. But the merchants, for the love of this poor fervant of God, had hid all tows, and all other things which might ferve for his execution. He was burnt on the north fide of the Abbey-kirk. Being of the scaffold, and in derifion defired to recant, he answered, with great boldness of spirit, " I marvel of your rage, O "hypocrites, that fo cruelly perfecute God's fer-" vants; as for me, I am fourscore and two years old, " and cannot live long by course of nature : But a " hundred better than I shall rife out of the ashes of " my bones, who shall scatter the proud pack of you, " hypocrites, and perfecutors of God's fervants; and " who of you thinks yourfelf worthieft, shall not die " so honest a death as I die now. I trust in God, I " shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland " for this cause."

Thereafter PAUL MEFFAN came in Scotland, and preached in Dundee, and in fundry gentlemens houses in Angus; and also in Fise, especially in Cowpar, Lundie and Fawside, and sundry other. He had ministred the facrament of the Lord's Supper in Lundie and Cowpar, and caused images and popery to be abolished wheresoever he preached: For the which cause, he and those who reset him, especially the men of Dundee, were summoned to compear before the queen

and council at Edinburgh, the twentieth of July, in the year foresaid: But he was so assisted by temporal men, and their earnest sollicitation for him, that the matter was delayed.

The same year there arose great troubles in the borders of Scotland and England, called the Quarterroads; in the which there was great saughter made on both sides. At a road in England were taken captives, the master of Marshal, the lord Gray, the master of Graham, with sundry gentlemen and barons; many also slain on both sides. There was also imposed upon the kirkmen and boroughs, a taxation of twenty-sour thousand pounds, viz. sixteen thousand pounds upon the clergy, and eight thousand pounds upon the boroughs.

Upon the eighth of November, MARY queen of England, daughter to king HENRY VIII. departed this life, to the great comfort of God's fervants, whom the had perfecuted most cruelly. Queen ELIZABETH, her sister, succeeded to her.

The lord of Ivers, his brother, provoked WILLIAM KIRKCALDIE of Grange to fight with him, in fingular combat on horseback with spears; who, keeping the appointment, accompanied with Monsieur d'Offel, lieutenant to the French king, and the garrison of Haymouth, and Mr. Ivers, accompanied with the governor and garrison of Berwick, it was discharged, under the pain of treason, that any man should come near the champions within a slight-shot, except one man for either of them to bear their spears, two trumpets and two lords to be judges. When they were in readiness, the trumpets sounded, the heralds cried, and the judges let them go. Then they encountred very fiercely: But Grange struck his spear through

his adversary's shoulder, and bare him off his horse, being fore wounded: But whether he died or not, it is uncertain.

In this year began the uproar for religion. The clergy, perceiving the whole gentry and commons bent to hear God's word preached, were fore afraid; and held an affembly in the Black-friers of Edinburgh, to confult how to suppress the protestants. They made diverse constitutions; as, first, that no man should have benefice of the kirk but priests. Secondly, that no kirkman should commit whoredom; or, if he did, for the first sault, he should pay great sums of money; for the second, he should lose his benefice. To this act opponed the bishop of Murray, a great fornicator and adulterer, alleging, that it was as lawful to him to keep his whore, as to the bishop of St. Andrews. Thirdly, they made an act, that Sir David Lindsay's book should be abolished and burnt,

Unto this affembly came JOHN ERSKINE of Dun. commissioner for the kirk, who follicited the bishops, for the love they had to God, to leave off their perfecution of God's faints, and fuffer them to worship God according to his commandments, and to have the common prayers in all parish-kirks, while further order might be taken. This petition the bishops proudly rejected, thinking they had both the queen and the French king on their fide: And therefore, confulting with the queen, they caused PAUL MEFFAN, JOHN WILLOCK, WILLIAM HART (Harlaw) and JOHN Douglas, to be summoned again to compear at Edinburgh, at a certain day, as heretical feducers of the people: But, by the moyen of the laird of Dun, they escaped, and were not summoned at that time. Yet the queen and clergy were fo commoved at the preach-

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ers of the gospel, that they broke their promise, and caused denounce them all to the horn, and charged sundry barons and gentlemen to ward for maintaining of them. Hereupon the master of Lindsay, the lairds of Lundie elder and younger, the lairds of Abbotshall and Newhall, with sundry other gentlemen of Fise, and also of Angus and Strathern, assembled at St. Johnston, in April, one thousand five hundred and sifty nine, resolving to put their lives in jeopardy, for the maintenance and propagation of the gospel.

JOHN KNOX having preached openly, after dinner they destroyed all the idols in the town. Thereafter, affembling on the bridge, they caused John KNOX to conceive a prayer to God Almighty to direct them to do that which might ferve most for the glory of God, and good of his kirk. Then they concluded to pass and demolish the charter house: But the prior, suspecting their purpose, had brought down his tenants of the Highlands of Athol to defend the place. They, knowing the hazard, defired the prior to put their wives and eldest fons in their tacks; which if he would do, they promifed to hazard their lives in his defence : But the prior refused this. Then they defired the prior to give them wine, and of his best drink, to encourage them; which was also refused; and nothing given to them but falt falmond and small drink; whereby they had no courage when they had most a-The congregation fent the laird of Moncrief, being the prior's kinfman, to counsel him to leave idolatry, and ferve God according to his word: But he refused to obey their defire; whereupon the congregation past to the charter-house, took forth the prior, spoiled the place, and gave the spoil to the poor. The

next day they cast down the charter house, the Grey-friers, the Black-friers, and friers of Tullilum.

The queen, who was at Stirling, hearing of these news, was highly incensed; and, having sent for the duke, she said to him, "I marvel of you, my lord, "who art second person in Scotland, having none between you and the crown but my daughter, who as yet has no issue, that you put not to your hand, to take order with these who, in this manner, defitroy the policy of this kingdom. You know I am a woman, and ignorant of the disposition and nature of Scottish-men: But it is your brother's duty and yours to maintain the liberty of the kirk."

The duke, allured with these speeches, joined his forces with her; and marched forward to St. Johnston. The first night they came to Auchterarder, where they remained eight days, till artillery came from Edinburgh and Stirling. These of St. Johnston, understanding the queen's sury against them, gathered all that that they might in Fise, Angus, Strathern and Merns, with some of Lothian; and sent a post in haste to their friend and brother the earl of Glencairn, desiring him to come in all haste for the desence of God's cause. The earl incontinent, with so many as he could get together, sped himself to come to them, in all possible haste, with eight hundred men.

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The queen informed of the earl's coming, and that the congregation was of greater power than they were indeed; and that they were all resolute to fight it out to the extremity; and, in token hereof, each of them had put fix quarters of a cord about his neck, wherewith he should be hanged if he did see; and, if they got the victory, they should hang so many of the French as they might overtake; and that they were

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standing in the Inch, with three thousand men in arrayed battle; and had put the earl of Glencairn to defend the town with two thousand men, who had great enmity against the duke: The queen, and those who were with her, being afraid at these news, knowing that they had not forces enough against them, sent the earl of Bothwel, and lord James, prior of St. Andrews, to the congregation to take up the matter. The queen chose the earl of Argyle and lord James to treat for her; and the congregation chose the earl of Glencairn and the laird of Dun.

These sour agreed the matter on these conditions. First, that the congregation should leave the town void to the queen, to enter thereinto with so many Scots as she pleased. Secondly, that no Frenchman should enter the town, or come within three miles of it. Thirdly, that the queen should not molest nor trouble any inhabitant in the town; but, having reposed herself three or four days, should leave the town as she found it.

Hereupon the congregation departed every man to his house. The queen was thankfully received into the town, and liberally entertained by the chief men thereof: But, within four days, she, forgetting to keep promise, called the Frenchmen into the town: who spoiled and troubled the same. Then she called the magistrates of the town to underly the law, for such crimes as she had to lay to their charge. She discharged also my lord Ruthven from the office of provost, and gave the same to the lord of Kinsawns, to whom she gave the charge of certain bands of soldiers to keep the town. She banished all the congregation, especially PATRICK MURRAY and his brethren, and the bailies of the town, and returned to Stirling.

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The earl of Argyle and lord JAMES, hearing that the queen had broken her promise, came both to St. Andrews, and joined themselves to the congregation; and, hearing that the queen was come to Falkland, minding to come to St. Andrews against them, they sent word through Fise, Angus, Strathern, Merns and Buchan, that all their faithful brethren would come to their support. Their number increasing, they past to Carale, and destroyed all images and altars, and burnt the Rood. The next day they came to St. Andrews, and reformed all the kirks thereof, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry, and caused John Knox preach openly.

The bishop, being not able to hinder these proceedings, stole out of the town, and came to Falkland to the queen, and informed her of all. She, being highly incensed, made proclamation to all manner of men to follow her to Cowpar and St. Andrews; and commanded the soldiers to be ready to march forward with her the next day.

The congregation, hearing this, prevented the time, and came that night to Cowpar, being about three thousand men. The men of Dundee, Strathern and Merns met them about a thousand men. The next morning they past forth to the muir, thinking the queen would come that way. The queen herself stayed at Falkland. Her army, being two thousand Frenchmen, under the command of Monsieur d'Ossel, with six shot of artillery, and a thousand Scottish men commanded by the duke of Chatteleraut, marched to Tarbat-mill, on the south hand of the congregation. There they stood at a consultation.

In the mean time PATRICK LEARMONT laird of Darcey, being provost of St. Andrews, came to the congregation with five hundred men well armed. They, encouraged

encouraged herewith, marched forward and stood in battle-array, over-against the enemy. The French seeing so great a number, divided in five companies, two of horsemen, and the rest footmen, and, believing them to be more than indeed they were, sent a post to Falkland to the queen, to ask what was her mind; for the congregation were more in number than they expected, and very resolute to sight it out.

The queen, hearing this, fent away the earl Mar. thal, the lord Lindsay, and the laird of Waughton incentinent, to take up the matter. The earl Marshal. taken with fickness, as he alleged, came no further than the Sheel-bridge. The other two posted so falt. that they burfted their horse before they came to the congregation; whom they found in arrayed battle, having chosen forth five hundred of their best horsemen to prick, and stop the French from crossing the water of Edin. Then they began to reason with the chief men of them, shewing them, that it was great rashness to them, who were noblemen and chief gentlemen of the country, to hazard themselves in battle against a number of mercenary soldiers, being strangers. They answered, that they came only in defence of themselves, their friends and religion, so grievously pursued by the Frenchmen and bishops, whom they wished to return from whence they were come, and so they should depart in like manner.

Then my lord Lindsay past to the duke, where he stood, and said, "It is strange, my lord, that you are " so ill advised, as to come in battle against your own

" dearest friends and kinsmen, for the pleasure of your enemies. Are not you young lord of Scotland, and

these your kinsmen and friends, who will affist you

to their power in your good quarrel? - Affure your-

"felf, if you assist these strangers against your own friends, you shall hardly escape yourself; for they are more enraged against you, than against the Frenchmen, because you are induced to assist these strangers against your own countrymen and dear friends; and namely the earl of Argyle your own sister's son; the quarrel being the propagation of Christ's Evangel, which you will never be able to hinder. Be assured, my lord, if once they shall get those men cut off, whom you pursue to day, being your surest friends, they will soon cut off yourself also. Since then the matter stands so hard with you, I counsel you to obey God rather than man."

The duke shewing himself tractable, my lord Lindby defired him to flay still till he returned back to him. Then he posted to Monsieur d' Ossel, shewing that he and WAUGHTON were fent by the queen to take up the matter betwixt the two armies; and therefore discharged him, in the queen's name, to march any further till he had ended his commission. Then he spake to Monsieur d'Ossel, de la Chappel, and Charalous, " It is far against your commission (faid " he) who are fent by your mafter the French king to " defend the realm against our enemies of England, " and to give our queen regent profitable counsel for " government of this kingdom, that you are come " forth in arrayed battle yourselves, and some of the " nobility of Scotland stirred up by you to destroy the " rest. So that thereby this realm shall become an " eafy prey to any enemy. I am fure it is not the " king of France's will, that you spend his men and " money in destroying the nobility of Scotland; e-" specially the earl of Argyle, lord JAMES the queen's " brother, with many other noblemen standing on " yonder

" yonder field, who are most willing to pleasure and " ferve the king of France, when he hath ado. I " counsel you, in the name of God, to go no further " on against them; for they are determinate to do " what they are able in defence of the protestants, and " to stop you from entring into these towns, especially " feeing the queen is not here in proper person; nei-" ther would they fuffer herself to enter therein-" to, except with her ordinary court and train, all " foldiers being removed. Ye are strangers, lose not the hearts of Scottish men, neither procure the no-" bility of Scotland to turn enemies to the king " of France, who are now his friends; which if you " do, you will get no thanks at his hands and his " council. Likewise, it is an old Scottish proverb. I will fuffer my friend to need, but I cannot fee him bleed. " Think you then that my lord duke will " fuffer you to destroy his friends and kinsmen of the " congregation; especially the earl of Argyle his sif-" ter's fon? Beware lest, when you, having the van-" guard, shall join in battle with the congregation, the " duke's friends and followers, preferring their own " friends of the congregation before strangers, shall " encounter you on your backs, and cut you off. " Besides, the congregation are far more in number " than ye are, as you fee, and know the country and " ftrengths better than you. Finally, fo far as I per-" ceive, they blame you only, as by whose counsel the " queen hath been moved to persecute them: And " therefore they have resolved that you shall not e-" scape their hands alive : Beware, therefore, to lose the good name which before you have purchased. Beware to lose the hearts of the nobility and com-" mons of Scotland, for the pleasure of the bishops.

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Beware to hazard yourself and countrymen in so "evident a danger. Think not that a sew Frenchmen of war shall be able to conquer Scotland. Use my counsel therefore in time, before it turn to worse."

Monsieur d' Ossel, considering my lord Lindsay's words, thought them very probable; yet he rode up to the top of Tarvat-hill, and spied the congregation and their number; who had drawn up their men in such sort, that the multitude seemed far greater. He perceived also the duke's followers settled a-back from the vanguard a little; and some of them, under the

affurance, gone over to the congregation.

These things made my lord Lindsay's words settle more deeply in his heart: Wherefore he called on my lord Lindsay, and referred the whole matter to him and my lord duke. My lord Lindsay, for the more affurance, obtained the reference under his hand and my lord duke's, and returned back to the congregation; and, after coming to and fro, they concluded on these articles. First, that the French, with their artillery, should presently retire back to Falkland; and, the next morning fo foon as they might fee, depart over the Ferry to Lothian, and no more return Secondly, that the queen should grant them to Fife. free liberty of conscience, to serve God as they pleased. Thirdly, that the queen should ride up and down Fife as the pleafed, having no French-man of war in her company, fave only her ordinary court. Fourthly, this being done, within twenty-four hours they should disband their army, and continue loyal obedience to the queen, according to their duty.

These articles were accorded upon, and subscribed by both parties, far contrary to every man's expectation; who looked that it should not pass without a bloody battle.

ALL things being performed according to the forefaid appointment, the congregation, who were in Cowpar, were informed, the next day, by messengers from Perth, of the oppression committed upon the citizens thereof, by the new provost the laird of Kinfawns, and his men of war: Wherefore they past immediately to Perth, befieged the town; and, having taken it, they put out the laird of Kinfawns, and restored the office of provoft to the lord Ruthven. The earl of Huntley and my lord Erskine had been fent to stay the fiege by the queen: But they refused, and continued affaulting the town, killing many of the defendants, with the loss of one only man on their fide; and having demolished the rest of idolatrous places, they reformed the parish-kirks; and having stayed there a day or two, being advertised that the queen-regent was fending a garrison of French foldiers to Stirling, the earl of Argyle and lord JAMES hasted thither, and prevented them. Having reformed Stirling, the third day thereafter they came to Linlithgow, and reformed it.

The queen, hearing that they were coming to Edinburgh, fled, with her Frenchmen, to Dumbar. The congregation reformed all the kirks of Edinburgh, defiroyed all idolatry, and made the gospel to be openly preached by John Knox, John Willock, Willeram Harlaw. At this time came from England, Christopher Goodman, a learned preacher, long bred in Geneva. He stayed a long time in the college of St. Andrews.

In the month of July, one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, word came to Scotland of the death of HENRY II. king of France, being wounded in the eye by the splint of a spear at a tournament. The queen-regent was very forry at these news, and feared to be expelled out of Scotland by the congregation. On the other part, the congregation became altogegether fecure, as thinking to find no more refultance.

The queen, informed hereof by secret espyals, took purpose to return to Edinburgh: But the town and congregation withstanding her, she retired to Leith, and fortified it very strongly, having abundance of victuals, many good warriours, and the most part of the artillery of Scotland.

About this time queen ELIZABETH of England caused reform all the kirks of England, and overthrew all idolatry, which had been fet up by queen MARY, after the death of king EDWARD VI.

Whilst the skirmishing was hottest betwixt Edinburgh and Leith, about the twentieth of August, the earl of Arran escaped out of France, (where his life was fought by the house of Guise, because he stood so conflant for the reformed religion) and came through Flanders and England, unknown to any before he came home, whence he had been absent fourteen years. By his persuasion the duke his father left the queenregent, and joined himself to the congregation. The earl of Arran also agreed his father with the earl of Glencairn, the laird of Reath, the laird of Grange, and many other gentlemen whom his father had forfeited.

The congregation caused proclaim, that all who would join with them should compear at Edinburgh, the fifteenth day of October. At which time affembled the duke, his eldest fon the earl of Arran, the . 1

earl of Glencairn, the lord Ruthven, the mafter of Lindfay, with all the gentlemen of the congregation. and the boroughs, and belieged Leith for the space of a month, but came not speed. The foldiers also began to mutiny for want of pay. Whereupon the lords of the congregation resolved to coin all their filver-vessel and rings: But the coining stamps being stoln away. they were constrained to fend to their friends in Berwick, Sir RALPH SADLER and Sir JAMES CROFTS, to borrow a little money to put off the present necessity. The queen, advertised hereof by her secret espyals, fent the earl of Bothwel to lye in wait for the laid of Ormistoun, who was fent for the same, and to intrap him in his return; which he performed, wounded and took himself, and took the money from him. The earl of Arran, and lord JAMES STUART, advertised hereof, passed hastily out of Edinburgh, with the most part of the horsemen, to relieve the laird of Ormistoun out of his hands. The earl, knowing of their coming, fled away before; wherefore they took his castle of Creighton, and brought great spoil out of it to Edinburgh: But finding Leith fo strongly fortified, and being loth to hazard themselves against the French, they wrote letters, subscribed by all the lords and barons there present, unto England for support; which was promifed to them, and a day prefixed when they should come, both by sea and land. So the congregation deferted Edinburgh and retired. The queen immediately, with my lord Bothwel, my lord Creightoun, and the Frenchmen, entered into Edinburgh again, and restored all the altars and images, and erected the mass in the kirks, and blotted out the Lord's Prayer, the Belief and Commandments, which were patent upon the kirk-walls.

In September following, the French marched forth of Edinburgh, and wasted and spoiled Linlithgow and Stirling, and the country thereabout; and came down the north side of Forth, and made great destruction in Kinghorn, Dysart and Wemys, and killed all the bestial thereabout. They spoiled the laird of Grange's house and villages, and syne blew up the house with gun-powder.

In the mean time, La Bastie, a French captain, with sifty of his company, came forth to spoil Duniekeir; which the master of Lindsay and the laird of Craighall perceiving, they, with their followers, set upon him right manfully. La Bastie, having drawn his men within the ruins of an old house, long time desended himself stoutly with a halbert in his hand. The master of Lindsay encountring with him hand to hand, they sought a long time very eagerly; at length the master of Lindsay struck him on the forehead with a broad-sword, and clave his brain-pain. Many of his soldiers were killed, the rest were carried to Dundee. The queen was very forry for La Bastie, for he was a valorous and active gentleman.

The congregation, at their departure out of Edinburgh, had divided themselves in two companies; the one to stay at Glasgow, the other at Dysart in Fise. These, and others who joined with them, assembled at Cowpar, and stayed there eight days to determine upon the articles to be agreed upon betwixt them and their friends who were at Glasgow, on the one side, and the queen of England on the other, for obtaining of her support. Many of the gentlemen of Fise, at this time, were on the queen's saction, namely, Wemys, Balmuto, Balvery, and the abbot of Dumfermling.

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Upon the twenty-fourth of January, one thousand five hundred and fixty, the English ships came into the Frith, and their admiral, Mr. WINTER, landed at Aberdour. They remained still in the Frith till the land-army came unto them.

The Frenchmen, being at that time in the Wemys, were informed that they were French ships fent for their supply. Being encouraged with these news, they determined to go to Cowpar, and fet upon the congregation; and fell to confultation, whether they should go thither the nearest way, or go about by the coast of St. Andrews, and from thence to Cowpar. They resolved upon the last, in respect that the snow was fo deep, that the horsemen could not travel the nearest way: But, when they were come to Kincraig, and descried them to be English ships, indeed, they became greatly afraid; and, leaving their meat half-prepared, they hasted back, some to Kinghorn, fome to Dumfermling: But the laird of Grange flew many of them by the way. The English ships came up the Frith, and shot at the castle of Bruntisland, and took it with the loss of fundry Frenchmen.

Upon the twenty-fixth of January, diverse of the congregation came from Stirling, and cutted the bridge of Tillibody, to stop the Frenchmen from passing over. So they were constrained to stay all that night in Fothrig-muir, without either meat or drink; and many of them were killed before they could get the bridge repaired.

At the same time, the marquis of Elbeuf, brother to the duke of Guise and queen regent, came from France, with eight ships to support the queen: but five of the ships were broken with the force of tempest,

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himself beaten back with the other three, to the great comfort of the protestants.

Upon the thirtieth day of January, the queen directed captain CULLEN from Leith, with some vessels furnished with artillery and soldiers, for support of the Frenchmen who were in Fise: But he and his ships were taken by the Englishmen. Whereat the queen took great displeasure, and lay sick eight or nine days.

Not long after this, the prior of St. Andrews, the master of Lindsay, and the laird of Grange, past to Wester Wemys, and took the laird thereof; and also the lairds of Seasield, Montwharny, Balmuto and Balgony, and carried some of them to St. Andrews, and kept them there.

Upon the fourth of February, the gentlemen and boroughs of Fife, who had taken part with the queen, came to St. Andrews, and subscribed with the congregation. And, upon the seventh day, the prior, with the lords and gentlemen of the congregation of Fife, past to Glasgow, and joined with the duke and his son, consulting anent their passing to meet with the English army.

The twelfth day of February, the English ships took two French ships coming to support the queen. There came also seventeen English ships more from Berwick, and joined with the rest. They kept Inch-Keith that none could furnish it.

Upon the seventeenth day they took another ship coming to support the queen with horse and money, and had her to Berwick. The twenty-second they took a great ship, which the queen had surnished to pass to France with letters.

In March, the lord Ruthven, the prior of St. Andrews, and the provost thereof, with the laird of Pittarro, and forty gentlemen, took ship at Pittenweem in Fife, in an English ship called The Hound, and sailed to Berwick to bring in the land-army, and to confirm the band made betwixt them and the congregation. They returned shortly to Pittenweem with ten ships; and, upon the tenth of March, they, with my lord Arran, my lord Lindsay, and other of the congregation, met at St. Johnstoun; to whom the earl of Huntley, with the boroughs and gentlemen of the north, came; and, after three days conference, joined with the congregation, and forsook the queen.

Then the lords of the congregation and gentlemen of Fife met at Cowpar, and concluded to pass and meet the English army at Haddington. They sent forth proclamations, that all men should be at Leith the thirtieth of March, with thirty days victuals, under the pains to be reputed as partakers with the

French, and enemies to the commonweal.

About this time, the Frenchmen, hearing that the duke was befieging Castle-Semple with a great army, they rode to support my lord Semple. But, the same day that they came to Glasgow, he had taken the castle. They stayed three days in Glasgow, and did great skaith: But the congregation would not fight with them, nor hazard a battle before they joined with the English.

The twenty-eighth of March, the lords and gentlemen by-north Forth, having cast down the abbey of Dumfermling, came to Stirling, but could not enter into it because of the Frenchmen; and therefore returned back to Castle-Campbel. But the next day

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the Frenchmen departed to Leith; in the which journey threescore of them were slain.

The lords, hearing of their departure, came to Stirling; and from thence to Linlithgow; where having met with the rest of the congregation, on the first of April, they past to meet the English army at Haddingtoun and Aberlady, being about eight thousand men. The same day the queen-regent past to the castle of Edinburgh.

Upon the fixth of April, the Englishmen skirmished with the Frenchmen at Lestalrig, and repulsed them back to the town of Leith with great slaughter.

There came also of Englishmen, at sundry times with my lord Gray and my lord Talbot, the number of twelve thousand men, besides those who were in the ships, which were thirty sail.

Upon the thirteenth day, Leith was inclosed about with the siege, that no man might pass in or out; and the affault was made with twelve cannon, and twenty small pieces.

Upon the fifteenth day, the Frenchmen issued forth to the trenches, where the English White-clokes slew an hundred of them.

Upon the seventeenth day, the English ships came to the pier of Leith, and shot amongst the Frenchmen, and killed forty of them.

Upon the twentieth day, the principal block-house of Leith, called St. Anthony's kirk, was battered down; and also the High-kirk, where the vivers lay, with many houses on the east-side of the town.

Upon the twenty-eighth day, the English, giving the alarm, assaulted Leith, and killed fourscore Frenchmen.

Upon the thirtieth day, they burnt the mill of Leith, and brought away the goods which were within the fort.

Upon the third day of May, the English men and the congregation entrenched beside Bonytown, beyond the water of Leith, and condemned the Blockhouse beside the mill of Leith, and also the bridge.

Upon the eighth day of May, the English and Scots assaulted Leith on the night; but the ladders were too short; so that they were repulsed with great slaughter. Therefore the Englishmen sent to Berwick for more men and longer ladders, which came to the camp the thirteenth of May, the men being about sive hundred.

Upon the twenty-first day, the English ships encountring with ten French ships sent to the supply of Leith, took four of them, and forced the rest to return home.

Upon the twenty-fifth day, the French again issued out of Leith: But they were repulsed into the town, and twenty-four of their men killed,

Upon the twenty-eighth of May, a parliament was

proclaimed, till the tenth of July thereafter.

Upon the tenth day of June, one thousand five hundred and fixty, the queen-regent departed this life in the castle of Edinburgh, being overtaken with extreme melancholy, that the nobility had risen up against her.

There had been diverse treaties of peace, by means of the French and English embassadors; but the French refused to give over the town, unless they got leave peaceably to transport bag and baggage. To which the congregation would not assent. Then there came three hundred men to the camp from England.

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The twenty-eighth of June, the French issuing out of Leith, their colonel and many men were slain, and the rest repulsed.

To revenge this repulse, upon the fixth of July, they issued forth again. The English and Scots, who were in their trenches, perceiving them, rushed betwixt them and the town, and slew elevenscore of them. The town escaped narrowly untaken.

Upon the tenth of July, the peace betwixt the Scots, English and French was at length concluded and proclaimed. And, upon the thirteenth day, the French shipped and departed home, leaving the town void.

The parliament began, upon the twentieth day of July, at Edinburgh, and endured twenty days. In the which the religion reformed was established. All the rest of this year there was great peace and quietness, and good administration of justice in the country.

Upon the fixth of December, one thousand five hundred and fixty, FRANCISII. king of France, husband to queen MARY, (she being eighteen years of age, having remained twelve years in France) departed this life without succession.

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The next year, one thousand five hundred and sixty one, upon the twenty-first of August, she returned to Scotland, and arrived at Leith, with two gallies and sour ships; and was honourably received by her lords and subjects. She made her entry into Edinburgh with exceeding great magnificence.

Upon the seventeenth of December, she past out of Edinburgh to Lindithgow; and from thence to Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and Falkland; and thereafter returned to Edinburgh.

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In December following, the whole estates assembled at Edinburgh; where it was enacted, that all beneficed persons should quit a third part of their living, to be assumed by the queen for augmentation of her estate, and maintenance of the ministers of the gospel. Thereafter the whole kirkmen affembled with all their affift. ers, the earl of Bothwel being their head; and dealt with the queen to restore the mass: But God disappointed them of their intention.

Upon the first of January, the queen past to Seaton, and stayed there four days; where lord JOHN, prior of Coldingham, was married upon JEAN HEPBURN

fifter to the earl of Bothwel.

Upon the tenth of February, the queen's other brother, JAME s prior of St. Andrews, was made earl of Murray, and married AGNES KEITH daughter to the earl of Marshal, in the Abbey of Holy-rood-house. At which folemnity nine gentlemen of Fife were knighted.

. Upon the afteenth day there came an embaffador from Sweden to the queen, desiring licence to the king of Sweden to come into this realm. It is thought he expected to have the queen in marriage.

Upon the twenty-eighth of February, he received

his answer and departed.

revil defining the Upon the third day of March, the queen past from Edinburgh to Dumfermling, and from thence to Dyfart and to Dury.

On the fixth day the came to St. Andrews, and flayed there a space.

Upon the twenty-first day, she came to Cowpar and to Falkland; and fyne returned to St. Andrews.

In the same year of God, one thousand five hundred and fixty two, the earl of Bothwel, with other gentlemen,

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men, came to Falkland, thinking to feize upon the queen's person; or (as some say) to posson her: But the matter being disclosed, they were imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. Mr. GAVIN HAMILTON also was imprisoned, and so was the earl of Arran, who was alleged to have disclosed the conspiracy.

Upon the first of April, the queen having returned to St. Andrews, the duke sent a letter to her grace, humbly entreating that his son, the earl of Bothwel, and Mr. GAVIN HAMILTON, might be let forth upon caution; which being resused, the duke came to St. Andrews for the same effect, but in vain. Thereafter the queen caused charge him to render to her grace the castle of Dumbartoun, which he obeyed; and the queen made a servant of her own captain of it.

About this time, the protestants of France destroyed the images, and all the monuments of idolatry in Rouan, and other towns; their captain being the prince of Condy. As they were advancing forward to Paris to do the like, the papists, and the duke of Guise their captain, met them in the fields. The conslict was doubtsome; but the victory inclined to the protestants.

In April, the king of Sweden's brother came to St. Andrew's, desiring the marriage of our queen to the king his brother: But he got deserring answers. After this the queen past to Lochlevin, and to Edinburgh.

In the same year, the town of Rouan was besieged and taken by the French king, to the great discontentment of the protestants.

Upon the fifteenth day of May, there came an embassador out of Sweden very well accompanied. He was honourably received, and got presence at Holyrood-house. The same day my lord Fleming was honourably married. The embassador departed the last of May. He received from the queen a chain worth a thousand crowns.

Upon the twentieth of May, the laird of Lethingtoun, secretary to the queen, was fent to England for certain affairs anent the meeting of the two queens.

There was, at this time, in Normandy, a battle betwixt the papilts and protestants; in which great flaughter was made on both fides; and the prince of Condy was taken.

The tenth of July thereafter, the papifts and proteftants of France met together at the town of Orleans; where great slaughter was committed on both sides, and specially on the shaven fort. The duke of Guise was killed by his own servant, treasonably, by the shot of a dag; but the murderer was severely punished to death.

There was an appointment made for a meeting of the two queens at York; and the queen had prepared herself to depart the twenty-fourth day of July, and the nobility warned thereof; but occasions hindered the same: For the queen of England had sent ten thousand men to Newhaven in France, for support to the protestants, the earl of Warwick being their lieutenant. The queen of Scotland took journey to the north land, and came to Aberdeen the thirteenth of August. At which time the earl Bothwel brake ward in the castle of Edinburgh, escaping out of the window by a tow.

Upon the twentieth day of September, the queen made proclamations through the north country, that all men should be at her in sier of war: And this was, because the laird of Findlater, son to the earl of Huntley, brake ward in Aberdeen, and held all the castles belonging to his father and himself, and would not render them. The earl of Huntley raised to the number of a thousand men. Lord ROBERT, the queen's brother, was sent to Dundee and Edinburgh; and shortly thereaster the queen sent five hundred light-horsemen to France, in support of the protestants there.

The twentieth of September the castle of Inverness was taken, and the captain thereof, called Gordon, was hanged. At this time, JOHN GORDON, laird of Findlater, took certain of the queen's men of war in Bamff, and took their weapons from them. The earl of Huntley and he, being charged to compear before the queen's grace at Aberdeen, and resuling, were denounced to the horn,

The earl of Huntley, with his affistants, came forward to Bamff the twentieth of October, thinking to have taken the queen at Aberdeen. The earl of Murray, the earl of Mortoun, and my lord Lindsay, being in the town, they, leaving the queen in the town, past to the fields the twenty-eighth of October; and fought with the earl of Huntley at a place called The Bank of Fair, alias Correichy. There were slain to the earl of Huntley two hundred; to the queen six-score; the victory inclining to the queen. And the earl himself being killed in the taking, his dead body was brought to Aberdeen, and laid in the Tolbooth.

The thirtieth day of October, five gentlemen of the name of GORDON were hanged at Aberdeen; and, on the second day of November, the laird of Findlater beheaded. ADAM, the youngest brother, was spared; and the duke commanded to keep my lord Gordon,

his

his fon-in-law, fure; and albeit thereafter he came to St. Johnston to intercede for him, yet he got no answer which pleased him.

Upon the fourth of November, the queen came from Aberdeen to Dunnotter; and from thence to Bon-

ningtoun, Arbroth and Dundee.

Shortly thereafter the earl of Murray came from the queen to St. Andrews, because he would not consent to the marriage of the queen with the lord Darnley. There was a convention of the nobility kept at Stirling anent the said marriage; and the most part consented thereto.

In the month of June one thousand five hundred and fixty-four, the queen sent for the earl of Murray:

But he was advertised, that if he came he would be put in ward, and therefore he absented himsels.

About this time the earl of Rothes, with certain gentlemen, came to Parrat-well, beside Dowhil, thinking to have taken my lord Darnley from the queen; as they rode from St. Johnston to the Queensserry: But she being advertised, had past by before they met. In July next they were summoned to underly the law.

At this time, there came an embassador from England, desiring that the earl of Lenox and his son should return into England, otherwise to lose all his lands there; but this was resused; and my lord Darnley was ereated duke of Rothsay, and earl of Ross.

Upon the eighth of July, the queen was married to my lord Darnley, in the abbey of Holy-rood-house, with great pomp and triumph; the most part of the nobility being present, except the duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray and Rothes. They being charged by a herald to come to Edinburgh to the queen, upon

their

their refusal, were put to the horn. Proclamations were made, that all men should meet the queen at Falkland the thirteenth day of August.

This same year, the lord Gordon, the earls of Bothwel and Sutherland were restored to their liberty and estates.

The twentieth day of August, by open proclamation at Cowpar, all men that had been at the Parratwell were summoned to ward in Dumbartoun; and the earl of Rothes put to the horn. Thereaster the queen went to Glasgow, having commanded, by open proclamations, all men to attend her in sier of war, to resist the lords that were at the horn. From Glasgow she sent a herald to Hamilton, to charge the duke to render his house, under the pain of treason.

The next day, the lords who were at the horn came to Edinburgh; but the castle shot at them, and therefore they departed to Dumfries: But, hearing that the king and queen were returned to Edinburgh, they came to Glasgow.

Upon the twelfth day of September, the king and queen made the earl of Lenox lieutenant of the west parts; and thereaster came to Stirling, Fise and Dundee, and put sundry gentlemen of Fise and Angus in ward, for assisting the lords who were at the horn.

The earl of Bothwel was now returned from France, and landed at Coldingham in a pink; and gave his presence to the king and queen, and was received in great favour, and made lieutenant-general of the borders.

The eighth day of October, the queen received great sums of money from the boroughs; and gave eleven thousand merks for the superiority of Leith.

The tenth day, the earl of Huntley was proclaimed again the earl of Huntley; and immediately the king and queen, with the whole body of the realm, past out of Edinburgh to Dumfries, with certain carted pieces. The duke, the earls of Argyle, Murray and Rothes, hearing of so great power, fled into England. At Dumfries my lord Maxwel met the king, and came in his will, and rendered two of his special castles to him.

About this time, there came a great English ship carrying twenty brazen pieces of ordnance. Some think that she came to receive the lords that were at the horn; others, that she attended the earl of Bothwel in his return from France, to have taken him. Justice airs were proclaimed through all the shires, for punishment of all them that took part with the rebellious lords. And, in December, a proclamation was made, to the twelfth day thereof, to forseit the lords that were in England.

In January following, there came an embassador from France to make the king knight of the cockle.

Upon the twenty-second of February, the earl of Bothwel was married on the earl of Huntley's sister. The king and queen made the banquet the first day; which continued five days, with justing and tournament. At which solemnity were made six knights of Fife.

Upon the eighth day of March, the queen rode in parliament to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, with the crown, fword and sceptre carried before her, by the earls of Huntley, Crawford and Athole: But the king rode not that day. In this parliament the restitution of the earls of Huntley and Bothwel was ratified.

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KING JAMES VI.

HARLES JAMES VI. fon to HENRY
STUART lord Darnley and MARY, king and
queen of Scotland, was born in Edinburgh
castle the ninteenth day of June, one thousand five
hundred and fixty fix years; and the eighteenth day
of December, in the year foresaid, he was solemnly christened at Stirling; whose godsathers were
CHARLES

CHARLES king of France, and PHILIBERT duke of Savoy; and the queen of England was his god-mother, who gave a font of gold curiously wrought and enamelled, weighing three hundred and thirty three ounces, amounting in value to the sum of a thousand four hundred and three pounds, nineteen shillings sterling money.

The tenth of February, in the morning, one thoufand five hundred and fixty feven, HENRY STUART, lord Darnley, and husband to queen MARY, wasmurdered shamefully in the kirk of Field; the revengewhereof remaineth in the hands of Almighty God.

The twenty-second day of the said month, in the year foresaid, lady MARGARET DOUGLAS, lawful daughter to the earl of Angus, sister-daughter to king. HARRY VIII. countess of Lenox, and mother to the said lord Darnly, was discharged out of the tower of London.

The twenty-ninth day of July, in the year foresaid, CHARLES JAMES the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by JOHN KNOX, was crowned king of Scotland at Stirling; where there were read certain commissions, with the queen of Scotland's feal at them, for the establishing of the same. The first, for her refignation of the crown, and government of the young prince her fon. The fecond, to authorize the earl of Murray to be regent during his minority. The third, to give authority and power to feven other joining with the faid earl of Murray, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chatteleraut, the earls of Lenox, Argyle, Athole, Morton, Glencairn and Mar. The commif-Son being ended, the bishop of Akelly, with two fuperintendants, proceeded to the coronation. The earl Mortoun

Mortoun and the lord Hume took the oath for the king, that he should rule in faith, sear and love of God; and to maintain the religion then preached in Scotland. He was then anointed, and had the royal robe put on him. He had the crown upon his head, the sword by his side, and the sceptre in his hand; to the bringing to him of every one of which, prayers were made in the Scottish tongue, wherein the whole ceremony was made and done.

The fields of Tullie-Angus and Crabstane was stricken between GORDON and FORBES, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy one.

In the same year was the massacre of France, called

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty one, the earl of Mortoun, regent of Scotland, was executed at Edinburgh.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty three, the earl of Gowry, lord Ruthven, was executed at Stirling.

In the year thereafter was the road of Stirling, and banishment of the lords; and the same year was a great pest in Edinburgh, and thereabout, where sisteen thousand persons died.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty five, there was a great storm of snow in harvest; and the same year was the incoming of the banished lords, called The Road of Stirling.

In the month of May thereafter, Mary queen of Scotland escaped out of prison, fled into England, and the sixteenth day of the said month, after her escape out of Lochlevin, where she had been imprisoned, arrived at Werlington in England, having in her company a small number, where she stayed; and captain

captain REID, with fifty soldiers, was appointed to attend on her, and convoy her to Carlisse, and from thence to Beltoun-castle, belonging to the lord Scroop, who, with Sir RALPH SADLER sent down for the purpose, had the custody of her till she was committed to the earl of Shrewsbury.

The twenty-ninth day of October, one thousand five hundred and eighty-seven, there was a parliament holden at Westminster, for trying of matters concerning MARY queen of Scotland.

The fixth of December thereafter, in the year forefaid, the lord mayor of London, affifted with divers earls and barons, the aldermen of London in their fcarlet robes, with their officers, and greatest number of their best account about the city, to the number of fourscore of the gravest and most worshipful citizens, in coats of velvet and chains of gold, all on horseback, in most folemn and stately manner, by found of four trumpets about ten of the clock in the forenoon, made open and publick proclamation and declaration of the fentence given lately by the nobility against MARY queen of Scotland, under the great feal of England, bearing date at Richmond the fourth of December, being openly read by Mr. WILLIAM SEBRIGHT town-clerk of London, and with a loud voice folemnly proclaimed, by the ferjeant at arms of the faid city, in divers streets and corners, and namely in the palace of Westminster, without Temple-Bar, and other parts.

The eighth day of February thereafter, according to the sentence lately given, MARY STUART queen of Scotland, about ten of the clock in the forenoon, was executed, and suffered death by beheading upon a scaffold set up for that purpose in the great hall of Fothringhay, in presence of GEORGE TALBOT earl

of Shrewsbury, HENRY GRAY earl of Kent, principal commissioners, and other gentlemen of the country near adjoining, to the number of three hundred persons; who was, as pertained to a queen, royally buried in Peterborough.

On the first day of August next following, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and eighty eight, a navy was sent to the seas against the Spanish Armada, who were in number a hundred and fifty eight fail.

In the year following was the road of the bridge of Dee; and the king's first air in Aberdeen.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety, king JAMES VI. was married with ANNA of Denmark.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety two, the earl of Huntley slew the earl of Murray at Dunibirsel.

In the same year prince HENRY FREDERICK was born, the ninth day of February; and the same year, the eighteenth day of August, there was a great wind that shook the corns; and, by storms thereafter, ran sik dearth, that the meal gave eighteen pounds the bolk.

In the year of God one thousand five hundred and minety six, the field of Glenlevit was stricken betwixt GORDON and CAMPBELL, where GORDON was victor; and, in the same year, Strabogy and Slanes were casten down; and an air holden in Aberdeen.

In the year following the eighteenth day of December, was an uproar in Edinburgh betwixt the king and the kirk; and the same year, the sun was eclipsed totally.

The

The twenty-fifth day of February, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and ninety eight, came an embaffador from the king of Denmark, to ELIZABETH queen of England, with certain commissions from the new king thereof; and to return the garter that her majesty had bestowed upon the king lately deceased, as the manner of all foreign princes is to do. He had audience at the court the feventh of December, in the year foresaid, with cerrain requests, which her majesty answered, without pains, to every point of their embassage. Lastly, having audience, by occasion, on her majesty's birth day, (as he was furely informed) he began an eloquent oration, faying, " I doubt not but the king, my master, " shall, in this happy day, have a happy answer to his " requests. " Her majesty answered, saying, " I blame you not to expect a reasonable answer : But " you may think it a great miracle; how that a child born at four of the clock this mouning, should be et able to answer so wise and learned a man as you " are, fent from so great prince as you be, about so " great and weighty affairs as you speak of, in an un-" known tongue, by three of the clock in the after-" noon." Andthus, with prudent and gracious words, fhe ended, and gave him leave to depart.

In the year of God one thousand six hundred and three, upon the twenty fourth day of March, being Thursday, about two o' clock in the morning, deceast queen ELIZABETH of England, at her manor in Richmond in Surrey, she being then aged three-score and ten years, and had reigned forty sour years, sive months and odd days; whose corpse was privily conveyed to Whitehall, and there remained till the twenty-eighth of April, and was then buried at Westminster.

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It is not unworthy to be remembred, that Thurfday hath been a fatal day to king HENRY VIII. and all his posterity; for himself died upon Thursday the twenty-eighth of January; king EDWARD upon Thursday the sixth of July; queen MARY on Thursday the seventeenth of November; and queen ELI-ZABETH upon Thursday the twenty-sourth of March.

Upon the faid twenty-fourth day of March, the lords spiritual and temporal of the realm of England, assisted with these of her late majesty's privy council, assembled themselves together to take order of the publishing of the queen's departure; also her lawful successor should be declared, to the comfort of the realm.

About ten of the clock at morn in the fame day, which, after the account of the church of England, is the last of the year of Christ one thousand fix hundred and two, having proclaimed king JAMEs at the court-gate, entered the city of London by Ludgate; where, finding ROBERT LEELORD mayor of London, aldermen and citizens, they, all together, with a multitude of other good subjects, rode to the cross of West-Cheap; and, on the west side thereof, with founding of trumpets, caused to be proclaimed king JAMES of Scotland, the fixth of that name in Scotland, and of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, the first, as lawful heir, lineally descended from MARGARET eldest daughter to HENRY VII. and ELIZABETH his wife, eldest daughter to ED-WARD IV. married to JAMES IV. king of Scotland, in the year of God one thousand five hundred and three, (a hundred years and more fince) who had iffue king JAMES V. father to MARY I. mother to JAMES VI. now king of this whole island, England, Scotland

and Wales, with the realms of France and Ireland. Sir ROBERT CRCIL, principal fecretary, read the proclamation; WILLIAM DETHICK, alias Garter, principal king at arms, pronounced it with an audible voice. From thence they rode into Milk-street, to the house of JAMES PEMBERTON, one of the sheriffs of London; where they dined. And after that, in council, this morning being Thursday, was directed in post Sir Robert Carie, knight, towards Scotland, to signify in Scotland what had been done in England; which he performed to the king at Edinburgh, upon Saturday at night following, which was the twenty-seventh of March, and the first news to the king of his sister's death.

This charge was very plaufible and well-pleafing to the whole nobility, and generally to all commons both of Scotland and England; among whom the name of king was then so strange, as few could remember or had seen a king before, except they were aged persons; considering that the government of the realm had continued near the space of sifty years under the reign of two queens, which is the greatest part of a man's age.

But tidings being brought hereof in Scotland to the king, he called a council to him in taking order for fettling all things in his realm of Scotland; began his voyage towards England, and did so much, that, after many days journey, and lodging in the houses of fundry noblemen, he arrived at London the seventh of May, one thousand six hundred and three; and he was lodged at the Charter-house, making many knights by the way as he came.

JAMES I. fon to HENRY STUART and MARY late queen of Scotland, born in Edinburgh castle, began his reign over the realm of England, the twentyfourth of March, the last of the year one thousand six
hundred and two; aged thirty-six years and better.
He had reigned king of Scotland in peace with almost
all christian princes; which peace he also brought into
England. God make us thankful, and grant him in
that blessed peace many years to reign over us.

Divers prisoners touching the late earl of Essex, were delivered out of the tower of London, namely, the earl of Southampton, on the tenth of April.

The twenty-seventh of the same month, proclamation was made for the apprehension of WILLIAM and PATRICK RUTHVENS, brethren of the late earl of Gowry.

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The twenty-eighth of April, the corpfe of queen ELIZABETH entred in the vault of her grandfather HENRY VII. in his most beautiful chapel, most triumphantly; where the reverend father in God ANTHONY WATSON, bishop of Chester, made a learned sermon. There were esteemed of mourners in black fixteen hundred persons.

In this mean time, on the fifth of April, king JAMES departed from Edinburgh, attended with multitudes of his nobility, earls, lords, barons and gentlemen of Scotland; and some French-men, as the French embassador being in Scotland; besides, in his train, many gallant and well-appointed gentlemen, who all attended upon him that day from Edinburgh to Dunglass, a house of the lord Hume's, where he reposed himself that night.

The fixth of April, his majesty progressed from Dunglass towards Berwick, having then attending upon him many more noblemen, knights and gentlemen, besides the lords wardens of the marches and borders

of Scotland and England, with feveral companies to receive him. The lord governor of Berwick alfo, accompanied with the council of war, the constables with their coronets of horses, and divers captains and gentlemen of the land-pensioners, and others, advanced forward to meet, entertain and conduct his majesty into the town of Berwiek. This seems a happy and frange day, when, peaceably, fo many English warlike gentlemen went out to bring in an English and Scottish king, both included in one person, into that town, which, for many hundred years, had been an enemy, or held for the one nation or the other: But the king of peace hath fo ordained it to be. Those companies met him, and were graciously respected of his highness: So, falling in among the other troops, they fet forward. And when his highness came within half a mile of the town, and began to take view thereof, from the castle came sik a tempest, as it were thunder. It was credibly reported, that a better pale of ordnance was never, in any foldier's memory, difcharged in that place. The king being come near to the gates, the smoke of gun-powder evanished; and iffued out of the town WILLIAM SELBY gentleman, porter of Berwick, with other gentlemen of account, and, humbling himself before the king, prefented unto him the keys of the ports, who received them graciously; and, being entred betwixt the gates, he restored the faid WILLIAM SELBY the keys again, and graced him with the honour of knighthood for his service. This done, his majefly entered the fecond gate; and, being within both the walls, he was received by the captain of the ward; and so passed through a double guard of foldiers, well armed in all points. Betwixt this guard his majesty passed on to the

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the market-cross, where the mayor and his brother received him with no small figns of joy. But the common people omitted nothing their power could attain unto, to express loyal duty and hearty affection, kneeling, shouting, and crying, God fave king JAMES. till they were, in a manner, entreated to be filent. Then Mr. CHRISTOPHER PARKINSON, the recorder of Berwick, a man grave and reverend, made a brave speech to his majesty, acknowleging him their fole and fovereign lord; to whom, in the town's name, he furrendered their charter; prefenting his highness also, from them, with a purse of gold; which, as an offering of their love, he graciously received: And for their charter, he answered them, that it should be continued; and that he should maintain their privileges, and uphold them and their town in all equity, by reason it was the principal and first place honoured with his most gracious person. From thence his majesty past into the church, to humble himself before the Exalter of the humble, and thank him for his benefits bestowed upon him and his people. At which time preached before him the reverend father in God TOBY MATTHEW, bishop of Durham, who made a most learned fermon; whilk finished, the king departed to his palace; and then they gave him a pale of great ordnance more than before, never having king to rest within their walls for many years before.

The next day, being the seventh of April, his majesty ascended the walls; whereupon all the cannoneers, and other officers belonging to the great ordnance, stood every one in his place; the captains with their bands of soldiers tikewise under their colours. Among which warlike train, his majesty, to shew an instance how he loved and respected the art mili-

tary, he made a shot himself out of the cannon, so far, and with such sign of experience, that the most expert gunners gave it just commendation. After this he less that part of the wall, and being attended upon by his mobility both of Scotland and England, the lord Henry Howard, brother to the late duke of Norsolk, and the lord Cobham being newly come to the town, and guarded by the gentlemen pensioners of Berwick, he bestowed that day in surveying of the fortistications, commending the military order of the town, and so returned to his palace.

The eighth of April, the trumpets warned for the remove; and all that morning his majesty, with royal liberality, bestowed, among the garrison soldiers, and every officer of war, according to his place, rich and bountiful rewards. After dinner, his majesty mounted on horseback, and took leave of Berwick, and proceeded into England, where he was received by Nicholas Forester, high-chamberlain of Northumberland, accompanied with a number of the gentlemen of the shire; who, riding before his majesty, led the way to Withrington; where, by the master of the place Sir Robert Carle and his lady, he was received with all duty and affection, the house being plentifully surnished for his entertainment, &c.

The ninth of April, he set forward to Newcastle, being sixteen miles from Withrington; where his majesty was met by the mayor, aldermen, council, and best commoners of the same. In joyful manner the mayor presented him with the sword and keys, with humble submission, giving to his majesty also, in token of love and loyalty, a purse sull of gold. His grace returned to the mayor the sword and keys, ratifying all their customs and privileges that they were possessed.

of; and so was conducted to the mayor's house, where he was richly entertained, and remained there three days.

Sunday, being the tenth of April, his majesty went to the church, before whom preached the bishop of

Durham.

Monday he bestowed in viewing the town, the manner and beauty thereof, bridge and the key, being one of the fairest in all the north parts: Besides, he released all prisoners, except for treason and papistry, giving sums of money for the relief of many that lay for debt. So joyful were the townsmen of Newcastle of his majesty being there, that they thankfully bore all the charge of his houshold, during the time of his abode with them.

The thirteenth day of April, his majesty set forward towards Durham; and, when he came near, the magistrates of the town met him, in behaving themselves as others before them. It was by his highness also thankfully accepted; and passing through the gates, when he entered the market-gate, there was an oration made to him; which being ended, he passed towards the bishop's house, where he was royally received by the bishop, attending him with a hundred gentlemen in town's livery coats, &c.

The fourteenth day, his majesty took leave of the bishop of Durham; whom he greatly graced and commended for his learned humanity and gravity, promising to restore divers things taken from the bishop-tick. His majesty removed towards Walworth, fixteen miles from Durham; where, by the gentlewoman of the house, Mrs. Jamieson, he was bountifully entertained.

The fifteenth day of April, his majesty set forward to York, his train still increasing by the number of gentlemen

gentlemen from the fouth parts, that came to offer him fealty, whose love he greatly tendred; yet did their multitude so oppress the country, and made provision so dear, that he was fain to publish an inhibition against the inordinate and daily access of people coming, that many men were stopt of their way. The high sherist of Yorkshire; very well accompanied, attended his majesty to Mr. Inglebee's, beside Top-Clift, being about sixteen miles from Walworth; who, with great humility, received his majesty; where he rested that night.

The fixteenth of April, his majesty removed towards York, being fixteen miles from Top-Clift; and when he came about some three miles from York, (the liberties of the city extending fo far) Mr. BUCKIE and Mr. ROBERTSON, sheriffs of the city, met him, and, with humble duty, presented him with their white staffs, which his grace received and delivered them again; so they attended him towards the city. Within a mile of which when his highness approached. there met him the lord Burley, lord prefident of the north, with many worthy knights and gentlemen of the shire. These also attended on his person to York, where, when he came near without the city, there met him three of the ferjeants, Mr. Wood, Mr. DAMFORT, and Mr. WESTROPE, who delivered their maces, which his majesty delivered again, commanding them to wait on him; and, the fame time, the ferjeant-trumpeter, and fome others, did, in like manner, submit themselves; whom, in like manner, he commanded to wait on him. Then he rode till he came to one of the gates of York, where the lord mayor of the city, the aldermen and wealthiest commoners, with abundance of other people, met him there.

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there. A long oration being made, the lord mayor delivered him the fword and keys, together with a cup of gold; which present his grace thankfully accepted, delivering the keys again to my lord mayor: But about bearing of the fword there was fome argument: the lord prefident taking it for his place, the lord mayor esteeming it to be his. But the king demanded the fword, feeing they would not be pleafed that he should have the disposition thereof; whereunto they humbly answered, it was all at his pleasure. His grace delivered the fword to the earl of Cumberland, who bore it before him from the gate to the minster; in which way there was a conduit that ran white wine all day; white wine and claret, every man to drink as much as he lift. From the miniter his grace went on foot, under a canopy, born by four knights, to his own house, being the manor of St. Mary's, where he was honourably received by the lord Burley; who gave cheerful entertainment to all his followers, during the time of his continuance in York, &c.

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The feventeenth day of April, being Sunday, the king went on foot to the minister to hear the Sermon, which was preached by Dr. Thorborough, dean of York and bishop of Limerick in Ireland; whose doctrine and method of preaching was highly, by his majesty, commended. The sermon ended, the king returned on foot, in the same fort as he came, to his manor; where he was royally seasted by the lord Burley, during his continuance in that manor of St. Mary's. It is said to exceed all the rest in any part of England before; butteries, pantries and cellars, always held open, in great abundance, in all corners.

Monday, the eighteenth of April, his majesty was feasted by my lord mayor of York, whom he knight-

ed by the name of Sir ROBERT WALTER. After dinner, his majefty commanded all prisoners to be set at liberty, except papists and wilful murderers; and rode from York to Grimstone, being a house of Sir EDWARD STANHOPE's, where he lay that night, and dined the next day.

The nineteenth day of April, his grace rode to Pomfret-castle; which when he had viewed, he rode to Duncaster, where he lodged at the sign of the Bear and the Sun.

The twentieth day of April, his majesty rode toward Warfope, the earl of Shrewsbury's house; and, at Battin the high-sheriff of York-shire took his leave of the king, and Mr. ASKOTH, high-sheriff of Nottingham-shire, received him; and so conducted him till he came within a mile of Blyth; where his grace alighted, and fat down on a bank-fide to eat and drink. After which short repast he rode forward to Warfope: but, in the park, he was formewhat flayed: For there appeared a number of huntimen all in green; the chief of which in a woodman's speech, did welcome him, offering to shew him some game; which he gladly condescended to see, and with a train he hunted a good space, and went into the house; where he was fo nobly and royally received, with abundance of all things, that still every entertainment feemed to exceed other.

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The twenty-first day of April, his grace took his way toward Newark upon Trent, where that night he lodged in the castle; where the aldermen presented him with a fair gilt cup, which was kindly accepted. In this town, and in the court, was taken a cut-purse doing the deed; and, being a base pilsering thief, yet he was gentleman-like in the out-side. This fellow had

had good store of coin found about him; and, upon examination, confessed that he had, from Berwick unto that place, played the cut-purse in the court. The king hearing of this gallant, directed a warrant to the recorder of Newark to have him hanged; which was accordingly execute; and all the rest of the prifoners of the castle pardoned.

The twenty-second of April, his highness rode to Beaver-castle, hunting all the way as he rode. At Beaver-castle his highness was royally received by the earl of Rutland, and his countess, and plentifully entertained.

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The twenty-third of April, his highness rode forward toward Burley, and, by the way, dined at Sir John Harrington's; where that worthy knight made him most royal entertainment. From thence he rode to Burley; where his grace, with all his train, was received with great magnificence, the house seeming so rich, as if it had been furnished at the charges of an emperor. The next day, being Easter-day, there preached before him the bishop of Lincoln; and the sermon was no sooner done, but all the offices of the house were set open, that every man might have free access to butteries, pantries, kitchens, to eat and drink at their pleasure.

The twenty-seventh of April, his highness removed toward Hinchinbroke, to Sir OLIVER CROMWEL'S; and, by the way, dined at Sir ANTHONY MILDMAY'S; where nothing wanted in a subject's duty to his sovereign. Dinner and banquet being past, and the king at point to depart, Sir ANTHONY presented his grace with a gallant Barbary horse, and rich saddle and furniture suitable; which his highness thankfully accepted, and rode toward Sir OLIVER

CROMWEL's; and, about fome half mile ere he came there, his majesty was met by the bailie of Huntington, who made to him a long oration, and there delivered him the fword; which his highness gave to the earl of Southampton to bear before him to Sir OLIVER CROMWEL's house; where his highness and his followers, with all their comers, had fuch entertainment, as not the like had been feen before. There was fuch plenty and variety of meats, and diverfity of wines, and the cellars open at every man's pleafure. There attended also, at Sir OLIVER CROM-WEL's, the heads of the University of Cambridge, all clad in scarlet gowns and corner-caps; which having presence of his majesty, there was made an eloquent and learned oration in Latin, welcoming his majelty, and also entreating the confirmation of their privileges; which his grace most willingly granted. Mr. CROMWEL presented his majesty with many rich and acceptable gifts; as, a very great and fair wrought standing cup of gold, goodly horses, deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent wing; and, at the remove, gave fifty pounds sterling money among his majesty's officers.

The twenty-ninth day of April, after breakfast, his grace took leave of Sir OLIVER CROMWEL and of his lady, late wife to Seignor Horatio Paulo Vicino. From thence he departed to Roystoun; and, as he passed through Gudman-Chester, a town close by Huntington, the bailies of the town, with their brethren, met him, acknowleging their allegiance, convoying him through the town. There they presented him with threescore and ten teem of horse, all traced to fair new ploughs, in shew of their husbandry; which while his majesty, being very well delighted with the fight

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fight thereof, demanded why they offered him so many horses and ploughs: He was answered, that it was their antient custom, whensoever any king of England passed through their town, so to present him : Besides, they added, That they held their lands by that tenor, being the king's tenants. His majesty not only took welf in worth their good minds, but bade them wie well their ploughs, being glad he was landlord of so many good husbandmen in one town. his way toward Roystoun, the high-sheriff of Huntington shire took his leave of his grace, who was there received by Sir EDWARD DENY high sheriff of Hertfordshire, attended on by a goodly company, in number feven-score, suitably apparelled in blue liverycoats and white doublets, and hats with feathers, all mounted on horseback, with red saddles. Sir ED-WARD, after his humble duty, presented his highness with a gallant horse, and rich saddle and furniture correspondent, being of great value; which his highness accepted graciously, and caused him to ride on the faid horse before him. The knight mounted quickly on the faid horse; and in brave manner, conducted his majesty to one Mr. CHESTER's house; where his majesty lay that night, on his own kingly charges.

The thirtieth day of April, his majesty rode to Standown to Sir Thomas Sadler's; and, by the way, the bishop of London met him, attended by a goodly company of gentlemen in tawny coats and chains of gold. At Sir Thomas Sadler's his majesty was royally entertained for himself and his kingly train. There his grace stayed Sunday, before whom the bishop of London preached.

The fecond day of May, being Monday, his majesty removed to Broxburn, a house of Sir HENRY COKE's, cofferer to the late queen ELIZABETH, and now also cofferer to his majesty; where there met him the lord keeper of the great feal, the lord admiral, with most part of the nobility of the land, and council of estate, who were favourably received. At which time, the faid lord keeper made a brief and learned speech to his majesty; to which his majesty answered with great grace and princely wisdom. But to speak of his grace's entertainment at Broxburn, it was fuch, and fo abundant, as there was no man, of whatfoever condition, but had what appetite defired; his majefly also receiving thereby great contentment; and, continuing but one night, departed the next day, thanking the good knight for his great expences.

The third day of May, he came to Theobalds, a house belonging to Sir ROBERT CECIL. At this house there met his majesty all, for the most part, of the old fervants and officers in houshold of the late queen; and with them the guard of his majesty's , body; all of them being courteously received to their own content. Also, in his house of Theobalds, the the fourth day of May, his majefty, with divers noblemen of Scotland, of his honourable council, viz. the duke of Lenox, the earl of Mar, the lord Hume, Sir GEORGE HUME treasurer of Scotland, Sir JAMES ELPHINGSTON fecretary to the king, the lord of Kinloss, now Master of the Rolls; also the English nobility, made of his council, the lord HEN-RY HOWARD brother to JAMES HOWARD late duke of Norfolk, THOMAS lord Howard fon to the duke, who was also made there lord chamberlain, and

the lord Montjoy, not then returned out of Ireland. His grace stayed at Theobalds four days, with entertainment, such, and so costly, as hardly can be expressed, considering the multitude that hither resorted, beside the train, none going thence unsatisfied. The king made knights there, as is said, twenty eight.

The feventh day of May, being Saturday, he removed from Theobalds toward London, riding through the meadows; where, within two miles on this fide Waltham, one of the sheriffs of London, called JOHN SOMERTON, and also sheriff of Middlesex, met his majesty with fixty men in livery-coats; where an eloquent and learned oration was made to his highness, by RICHARD MARTIN gentleman of the Middle-Temple. Besides these men in livery-coats that attended the sheriffs, all mounted on gallant horses, most of the sheriffs officers attended upon him; who conducted the king within fome two miles of London; and, at Stainforhill, the lord mayor of London prefented himfelf, with whom were the aldermen in gowns of scarlet, and chains of gold about their necks, with all chief officers and council of the city; besides five hundred citizens all very well mounted, clad in velvet-coats, and chains of gold, with the chief gentlemen of the hundreds, who made a good show to entertain their fovereign. also met his majesty all the officers of estate, as, ferjeants at arms, with their rich maces, the heralds in their coats of arms, and trumpeters, every one in his due place. The duke of Lenox, bearing the fword of honour before his majesty, passed over the fields, and came in at the back-fide of the charter house, where he was most royally received and entertained by the lord THOMAS HOWARD. He lay there four S 4 nights,

nights, and, at his departure, made about eighty knights.

The eleventh of May, his grace rode in coach fomewhat closely from the charter-house to White-hall; and from thence was convoyed by water to the tower of London, and there were attending on him the lord Zeuth and the lord Burley, (sworn the said day privy counsellors to his majesty at the charter-house) the lord admiral, the earl of Northumberland, the lord Worcester, the lord Howard, and others. The first day his majesty viewed the offices in the tower, as, the armory, the wardrobe, the artillery, &c. The next day he saw the ordnance-house, the mint-house, and, at the last, the lyons, &c.

The twentieth of May, being Friday, his grace made barons and knights, in the tower, to the number of twelve, or thereby.

The feventeenth day of May foresaid, proclamation was made against rovers in the borders.

The twenty-second day of May, his grace knighted Sir ROBERT LEELORD mayor of London, and others. His majesty was, that day, most royally served; and, at night, divers fire-works on the Thames were shewed for triumph.

In the month of June, there came embassadors from the Palsgrave of Rhine, from the estates of Holland and Zealand, from the archduke of Austria, and from the French king.

The second day of July thereafter, the feast of St. George was royally kept at Windsor by the king and knights of the honourable order of the garter; where the prince, the duke of Lenox, the earl of Southamptoun, the earl of Mar, and the earl of Pembroke, were installed,

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The twenty-first of July were created at Hamptoncourt, in the great hall, by the king's majesty, under his estate, and the queen present, to the number of thirteen or fourteen earls and barons.

Friday, the twenty-fecond of July, the king and queen removed to Westminster.

Saturday, the twenty-third, the king dubbed knights in his garden, the judges, ferjeants at law, and many other, three or four hundred.

Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, were performed the folemnity of the knights of The Bath, riding honourably from St. James's to the court, and made show with their squires and pages about the tilt-yard; and after went to the park of St. James's, and there alighted all from their horses, and went up the king's majesty's presence in the gallery, where they received the order of the knighthood of The Bath.

The twenty-fifth of July, being Monday, and the feast of the blessed Apostle St. James, king James of England, the first of that name, with the noble lady queen Anne, were together crowned and anointed at Westminster, by the reverend father in God John Whitgift archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of the nobility, and namely Sir Robert Leelord lord mayor of London, in a gown of crimson-velvet, his brethren, the aldermen, in gowns of scarlet, and twelve principal citizens admitted to attend on them. These, in the morning early, entred in the mayor's barge at the Three Cranes Stairs, and were rowed to Westminster. All other citizens stayed from passing thither, either by water or by land, as much as might be.

Friday, being the fifth of August, by commandment from the ordinary, was kept holy-day, with prayers, fermons,

fermons, and bonfires, and all that night all men to praife God for the king's escape from being murdered by a most wicked traitor, the earl of Gowry.

The fourteenth of August, Sir WILLIAM DE-THICK garter, principal king at arms, was fent to Peterborough in Northampton-shire, with a rich pale of velvet, embroidered with the arms of the mighty princess MARY queen of Scotland, having letters directed to the reverend lord the bishop of Peterborough in that behalf; which pale of velvet embroidered was, by him, folemnly carried and laid upon and over the corps of the faid late queen, affisted by many knights and gentlemen, and much people, at the time of divine fervice; and then the faid bishop preached a sermon in that behalf in the morning, and made a greaft fealt at dinner, and the dean of the fame preached in the afteernoon. The faid queen of Scotland was royally and fumptuously interred by the faid Garter, on the first day of August, one thousand five hundred and eighty feven.

Upon the fixth of November thereafter, the high and mighty prince FREDERICK duke of Wortenberg, who had been elected before to be one of the company of the most noble order of the garter, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of queen ELIZABETH (which was the day appointed for that action) the said duke was invested; the robes, garter, and other ornaments of the said order, and other ceremonies were performed in the cathedral church of that city; and all the rest of that day was spent with great feast and triumph, very admirable to beholders, &c.

The fifteenth day thereafter, king JAMES, queen ANNE his wife, and HENRY FREDERICK the prince, past triumphantly from the tower of London, through

through his royal city and chamber of London, to Westminster. The companies of the city, marshalled according to their degrees, were placed; the first beginning at the upper-end of Mark-lane, and the laft reaching to the conduit of Fleet-street, or thereabouts, their feats being double railed; upon the upper part whereof they leaned the streamers, enfigns and banners of each particular company, decently fixed; and directly against them, quite through the body of the city, so high as Temple-bar, a single rail, a far distance from the other, was likewise erected to put off the multitude. The king, richly mounted on a white gennet, under a rich canopy, fuftained by eight gentlemen of the privy chamber, for the barons of the Cinque-Ports, entred his royal city of London, and passed the same towards Westminster, through seven gates of pageants: Of the which, the first was erected at the east end of Fen-church; over the which gate was represented the true likeness of the notable houses, towers and steeples within the city of London. The fecond gate, a most fumptuous piece of workmanship, was lostily raised in Grace street by the Italians. The third gate, upon Cornhill, by the Exchange, representing the seventeen provinces of Belgia, or the Dutch nation; and, by them, raifed close to St. Mildrad's church. In the Poultrey a scaffold was erected; where, at the city's cost, to delight the queen with her own country music, nine trumpets and a kettle-drum did actually found the Danish march, &c. The fourth gate, wherethrough his grace palt at charges of the citizens, was raifed at West-Cheap at Super-lane end, adjoining to the east front of the great cross. In the Cheap was erected a square low gallery, some four foot from the ground,

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fet round about with pilley-stairs, where stood the aldermen, the chamberlain, town-clerk, and council of the city, and Sir HENRY MONTAGUE recorder of the city, who made to his majesty a gratulatory oration, as followeth.

" High imperial majesty, it is not a year in days, " fince, with acclamations of the people, citizens and " nobles, auspiciously here, at this cross, was pro-" claimed your frue fuccession to the crown. If then " it was joyous, with hands and hearts lift up to heawen, to cry king JAMES; what is it now to fee " king JAMES? Come, therefore, O worthiest of kings, as a glorious bridegroom, through your royal chamber. But, to come nearer, adest quem que-" rimus. Twenty and more are the fovereigns we " have served since our conquest; but, conqueror " of hearts, it is you and your posterity, that we have " vowed to live, and wish to serve whilst London is a city. In pledge whereof, my lord mayor, the " aldermen and commons of the city, wishing a gol-" den reign to you, presents your grace with a little " cup of gold, &c."

At the end of the oration, three cups of gold were given (in name of the lord mayor, and the haill body of the city) to his grace, the young prince, and the queen. From thence his majesty past to the little conduit at St. Paul's gate, where was placed the fifth gate or pageant, arbour like, and so called The Arbour of Music. From thence he passed through Paul's church-yard; upon the lower battlements of which church, an anthem was sung by the choiristers of the church, to the music of loud instruments; which being sinished, a little oration was delivered by one of Mr. MAL-GASTER's scholars at the door of the free-school, founded

founded by Dr. COLLET, sometime dean of Paul's church. The fixth arch or gate of triumph was erected above the conduit in Fleet-street, whereon the globe of the world was feen to move. At Temple-bar, when his grace was upon the point of giving a gracious princely farewel to the lord mayor and the city, a feventh gate or arch was erected; the fore-front whereof was proportioned in every respect like a temple, being dedicate to JAMES. Lastly, the city of Westminfter and dutchy of Lancaster at The Strand had invented the invention of a rain-bow; the fun, moon and stars, advanced betwixt two pyramids; which piece of work was begun and ended in twelve days. Of all which pageants and devices, speeches and songs declared in them, ye may read at large, in a book intituled. " The Magnificent Entertainment given to king " JAMES, upon the day of his triumphant paffage " from the tower, through his honourable city of " London, the fifteenth of March 1603-4, by THO-" MAS DECKER.

The nineteenth of August, in the Asternoon, about five of the clock, a joyful peace was proclaimed at the cross in West-Cheap, to the honour of God, and tranquillity of these our united kingdoms, with the high and mighty prince Philip, the third of that name, king of Spain, and Albert and Isabel archdukes of Austria, and dukes of Burgundy. William Segar, alias Garter King at Arms, read the proclamation, being present, eight or ten heralds, in their coats of arms; serjeant trumpeter, and other eight trumpeters sounding; and Sir William Rhennie, one of the sheriffs of London, in scarlet, all on horseback, dated at Whitehall the day and year aforesaid.

The twenty-third day of October, king JAMES was, in most folemn manner, at the great cross in West-Cheap, proclaimed king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Sir Thomas Bennet, lord mayor of London, his brethren the aldermen, in scarlet, with heralds and trumpeters, all on horseback, being present.

The fourth of January, afternoon, CHARLES duke of Albany, a child of fome four years old, fecond fon to king JAMES, now prince of Great-Britain, was created duke of York, in the hall where the king fat most royally under the cloth of State; at the whilk time, the heralds going before, the knights of the Bath followed; after them, the lord chamberlain, earl of Suffolk, in his robes of effate, going alone; then HENRY HOWARD, earl of Northamptoun, and CHARLES BLUNT earl of Devonshire, carrying the robes of estate for the duke of York; after, the earl of Southampton carried the coronet; the earl of Cumberland the golden rod; the earl of Worcester the cap of estate; and the earl of Nottingham bore the duke of Albany in his arms, supported by the earl of Dorfet, lord treasurer, and the earl of Northumberland; who, all coming in this order before the king, the duke of Albany was, after the patent read, created duke of York, the robes and coronet put on him, the! golden rod delivered into his hand; all which performed, they went to dinner, the duke of York and the earl fitting at one table in the upper end of the great chamber, in the robes of estate; the knights of the Bath, by themselves at another table on the fide of that chamber.

The right honourable, ROGER earl of Rutland, appointed by the king's majesty to be embassador to

his loving brother CHRISTIAN IV. king of Denmark, as well to folemnize, in his behalf, the christning of the king's fon, as also to present his highness with the most noble order of the garter, took his leave of the court at Greenwich, on Sunday the twenty fixth of June one thousand fix hundred and three years, and on Monday embarked himself at Gravesend, in his majesty's ship, called The Golden Lyon, being worthily accompanied with nine knights, twenty fquires, his friends and allies, befides about one hundred gentlemen and yeomen, his fervants and followers. On Tuesday the twenty-eighth, his lordship failed at Gravesend. On Wednesday, at night, we loft fight of land; and the wind and weather being favourable, on Tuesday seven-night following, we arrived, and fafely anchored within the found of Denmark. Upon Thursday his lordship landed at Elsinore, and was visited and saluted from the king. On Friday he rested himself; and on Saturday took journey to Copenhagen, where the king then was, with feven-score waggons prepared for his transportation; his majesty also having fent two very fine coaches, and some gentlemen, his servants, to attend on him by the way. His lordship was met by Ramellious, and fome other of the king's council, who, by an oration made in Latin, faluted his lordship with most kindly welcome, fignifying that it was the king's pleafure, that himself and all his train should be free of all charge during their abode in his country; and to that end had fo ordained, that in all the towns and villages where we passed, wine and beer, and all other victuals were plentifully and freely offered unto all men. This oration was answered by Mr. NANTOUN, a learned gentlemen, that attended my lord for that purpose.

purpose. That evening we came to Copenhagen. The embassador and his brethren were lodged in the court; and the knights and gentlemen in the town. That night the earl was visited in his lodging by some of the king's council, and fome complements passed betwixt the king and the embassador, by messages only. Sunday, in the morning, being the tenth of July, his lordship was appointed to have audience of the king; and thereupon, about the hour of nine, his lordship fet forth of his lodging, with all his attendants, in very good order, and richly befeen. His gentlemen of the better fort had a livery of scarlet; and with five or fix filver laces about; and the meaner fort with as many guards of white fattin. The king's majesty stood in an half pace, in a great chamber, at the fide of a square table, placed under a cloath of estate of crimfon velvet. He was apparelled in black, for he then mourned for his brother, who died at Russia. At my lord's approach he uncovered his head, and defeending the half pace, embraced my lord with much kindness. Then began Mr. NANTOUN, my lord's erator, his oration in Latin, which he performed with great eloquence; and in handling the parts of his oration, he first presented the king of Britain's letters of credence, and deputation for the baptizing of the child; and then the commission for the order of the garter. All which the king of Denmark received and read, and, by fome few instructions given by his majesty to Ramellious his counsellor, Ramellious an-Iwered the oration pointedly, with great learning and readiness. After the which, the king discoursed a while in the Italian tongue with the embassador. taking knowlege of the knights and gentlemen, whokiffed his highness's hand, and also proceeded to the. church

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church to the christning of the young prince, in manner following.

The ftreets of Copenhagen, through which his royal highness should pass, were fet with certain ensigns and burghers, both of shot and pick. The king's trumpeters rode foremost, sounding; then followed the kettle drums; then the king's houshold servants on foot; after whom followed fifty gentlemen, all mounted on great horses, apparelled in black, who mourned as the king did; then came the lord embaffador's attendants, followers and fervants, accompanied with divers Danes on foot; the bishop of Bream, with the deputies of Saxon Brunswick and Brandenburgh, accompanied each other; the king, the lord embaffador, and duke Ulrick the king's brother, rode all three together; the queen mother followed, invested in white fattin above, in a chariot of crimson velvet embroidered, and richly gilt, bearing the young prince in her arms; the chariot was drawn with fix white horses, sumptuously harnessed and plumed; and a guard of Switzers fuited in red and yellow filk, bearing light torches thereabouts; after followed a fpare chariot of purple, richly embroidered; and after it, divers coaches of the queen's women, apparelled into white, like unto nuns. Thus, with great triumph and rejoicing of the people, who were there in great numbers, they entred our lady church of that town, where the baptizing was to be performed. The chancel was hung with crimfon velvet and fattin figured, and round about beautified with the most fair ladies, in great abundance, all rich in jewels, and head attires in pearl, closs dressed; but their garments were black and plain: And truly, in my judgment, both for habit and behaviour, they seemed to be the most mo-

dest women in the world. In the chancel were erected, two trevises, the one for the queen mother and the prince, the other for the king and the emballador. After diversanthems and hymns fung, and conforted with eloquent music, in great variety, a bishop, assisted with a deacon, in rich vestments, standing before the altar, began to read certain prayers both in Latin and Danish tongues; which performed, the bishop came to the font, and the queen mother, being led by the embaffador and the duke Ulrick, brought the child in her arms to the fame; and there she delivered the child to be held by the lord embassador, while she herself slipt back the head attire for the baptism; which the hishop, after certain prayers performed, by putting water on the infant's head, with the fign of the crofs, faying, Neame de Barne, which was CHRISTIAN, done, by the lord embastador and other deputies, at the request of the king his father. All which accomplished, the queen mother, with the prince, retired unto her The bishop began a sermon in Latin upon the gospel for that day; which ended, the trumpets founded, and they royally retired as they came.

That day the king made a solemn seast to the embassador and the other deputies, placing the king of England's embassador at the table-end, at the righthand of the queen-mother; himself sat on the right side of the table-end, and his queen on the lest. The duke his brother, the bishop of Bream, and other estates, were placed according to their degrees; and so were the English knights and gentlemen, as many as the boards might contain. To be brief, it were superstuous to tell you of all the superstuities that were used. It would make a man sick to hear of their drinking healths. Use hath brought it into fashion, and fashion

hath

hath made it a habit, which it ill befeems our nation to imitate.

Monday, being the eleventh day of July, the lord embassador was entertained with the fight of the king's stable of horse, and with the arsenal or store-house of the king's munitions; which truly, when it shall be performed, will be one of the most excellent provifions in Christendom. There was but one fide of it built, the other lay in the foundations. The fabrication is of three lofts; the nethermost is artillery upon carriage, so neat and clean kept, that the brass is as bright as gold, and the iron as black as jet. The bullets are built in piles, according to their bore; and all provision so ready and necessary, as it were not exprest with words what it is in form. So is the middle store-house of armour, picks, shots, ensigns, drums, and all martial instruments: Also the uppermost lost, with powder, cordage, and other necessaries, plentifully stored.

Tuesday, the twelfth day, was spent in seeing the king of Denmark's ships, and other compliments.

Wednesday, the thirteenth day, my lord embassador and his attendants kissed the queen's hands and young prince; then took their leave, and returned from Copenhagen to Elsinore; and, by the way, the king and embassador hunted.

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Thursday, the thirteenth day, the king received the order of the garter within the castle of Essinore; which service was performed by WILLIAM SEGAR Norrey king at arms; unto whom the king gave a rich suit of apparel, and a chain of gold with his mediagle hanging thereat. At the investing of the king the castle discharged sifty cannons, and the king of England's ships, lying before the

castle,

castle, reported as many. Then, afternoon the king went aboard in the English ships, and had a ban-quet prepared for him upon the upper decks, which were hung with a covering of cloth of Tissue. Every health reported six, eight, or ten shot of great ordnance: So that, during the king's abode, the ship discharged a hundred and sifty shot.

The castle of Essinore is a quadrant, and one of the goodliest fortifications in that part of the world, both for strength, and most curious architecture, and was built by FREDERICK the king's father. There are in the same many princely lodgings, and especially one great chamber. It is hanged with Irish tapestry of fresh-coloured silk, without gold, wherein all the Danish kings are expressed in antique habits, according to their several times, with their arms and inscriptions, containing all their conquests and victories. The roof is of inset woods, and hung full of branches of brass for lights.

Friday, the fifteenth day, the king hunted; and by the way, shewed my lord embassador certain water mills (of his own device) for the forging, hammering, and boring of the ordnance, both great and small. In the which work, a dozen men did, with great ease, the offices of three or fourscore. The chase continued about two hours; the deer, being brought within toyles, were killed with musket shot, to the number of eight or nine-score, the most part stags. After the which, the king seasted my lord embassador in a lodge, very royally.

Saturday the fixteenth day, in the morning, fix or eight of the king's council repaired unto my lord embaffador's lodging in the castle; and there, in presence of his lords and his attendants, made a solemn protestation

destation of the king's high acceptation of those favours and honours, which his loving brother the king of England had done unto him, promising all princely requittal if it lay in his power, yielding always great thanks to the embassador for his long and painful journey to do him honour; and therewith presented him with a fair chain, and a rich jewel set with diamonds, and his picture also hanging thereat: Also sixteen other chains were given to the knights, and some of the gentlemen, my lord's followers; and about ten of his mediagles of gold unto others.

The presents which the king of England sent to the king of Denmark were, a collar of the order, two very rich Georges set with diamonds, and two garters; and to the queen-mother, rich carcanets, and other jewels, estimate worth three or four thousand pounds

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That day, Ramellious' invited both the king and embassador to dine with him, at his own house, near the castle; and, in his dining-chamber, had erected a cloth of estate of crimson-sattin, figured with two chairs and cusheons of the same; and, upon the cloth of estate, were set the arms and stiles of both the kings, which before was not used, because the king received the order in his chamber, and not in his chapel. The chear was great, and my lord embassador, being weary with these bachanal entertainments, took his leave of the king's grace, intending, that night, to lie aboard, for his more speedy dispatch homeward. The king, by no persuasion, could alter his determination; and therefore, after many embracements on either part, with kissing the king's hands, his lordship departed, and was accompanied unto the shore by his majesty; where

where the pinnace and the long-boat lay ready to convoy him aboard.

Sunday and Monday we were becalmed in the Sound; and on Tuesday the nineteenth of July, we set sail for England. Our ship, saluting the castle, was resaluted by the same; and the king, standing upon a counterscarp that lay into the sea, gave fire unto a cannon with his own hand, for our last farewel: And truly I must say thus much of him, that, for his royal person and princely carriage, I hold him to be the goodliest king in Christendom.

Saturday, the thirtieth of July, after we had been thirteen days at fail, carried by contrary winds, we

arrived at Scarborough-road in Yorkshire.

The eighth of August following, the lord embassador came, with his attendants, followers and servants, to Hampton-court, where his lordship, and the rest, kissed the king's hand. Whom all I leave, for this present, to next occasion, and the rest of all matters my author continues to speak further of, and rest.

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